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"INDIA'S MANY LANGUAGES AND RACES."—DO THESE JUSTIFY FOREIGN RULE?

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

PART I

ONE of the arguments oftenest used in justification of British rule in India is the many races, tribes and peoples alleged to be found there, and especially the many languages alleged to be spoken. One British writer urges the necessity of British rule by telling us that there are 130 different languages in India, another says 170, another 185; and by including minute variations and dialects the number has been swelled to more than 200. It is hardly possible to read any book or extended article on India, from a British source, without having such figures as these put before us as an unanswerable evidence that Britain is needed there, and must stay.

But really what do these appalling figures and numbers signify? Anything in justification of British rule? or the opposite? Why should numbers even ten times as great make it necessary for the land to be ruled by foreigners and strangers? Are men born and reared in distant countries, who are without knowledge of these various Indian peoples, who are ignorant of their institutions, customs and needs, and who are unable to

speaking a single one of their languages, better fitted to govern them—govern them wisely and safely—than are their own intelligent and trusted leaders, born and educated among them, having life-long knowledge of their institutions, habits and wants and able to speak their tongues? Such a claim is amazing. And yet we hear it constantly made by the British, and repeated parrot-like in America.

The existence of many languages in India can be no more an argument against Home Rule there, and no more a proof of the need of foreign rule than is the existence of many languages in countries other than India a proof that those countries should be ruled by foreigners. Turn from India to Russia.

During all her later history Russia has had more languages, and also more races and tribes and nationalities, than India, yet nobody has contended that therefore Russia was incapable of self-government and ought to have been conquered and held in subjection by a foreign power.

As a matter of fact the United States of America has more languages and more nationalities than India. In order to get any

such numbers of Indian tongues as we are told that India possesses, there have to be included the languages and dialects of all the small and unimportant hill and mountain and jungle tribes that live in remote and often almost inaccessible places,—similar to the small tribes of our American Red Indians. In the United States we have people from all the nations of South and Central America, from all the nations of Europe, from nearly or quite all those of Asia, Africa and the principal islands of the sea. Now count the languages of all these, and to them add the nearly two hundred languages and dialects spoken by our own Red Indian tribes, and it is easy to understand the truth of the statement that we have more languages in this country than has India. But does anybody believe it necessary, on this account, for some nation beyond the sea, say Japan or Russia or France or England, to conquer and govern us?*

Canada would hardly like to have the claim made that it is unfit to govern itself because of its many languages, nationalities and religions. Yet according to recent statistics Canada has 178 languages, 53 nationalities, and 79 religious faiths. That is to say, considering the number of its population,† Canada has a far greater diversity of languages (as well as nationalities and religions) than has India. Yet Canada rules itself and has done so for much more than half a century with great efficiency.

As a matter of fact, the main, the really important, languages of India are not many, but few,—fewer than those of Europe. India has a population as great as that of all Europe outside of Russia. Yet what may properly be called the main tongues of non-Russian Europe are as many as ten or eleven, if not more: whereas the main languages of India do not exceed nine or ten; and these to a surprising degree are closely related,—the Tamil and the Telugu in the South being almost twin sisters (Dravidian), and all those in the North being children of the Sanskrit (Aryan), and therefore sisters.

It is also true that the main and most important races in India are few. When

the Aryan people came into India from the North-west, they found it for the most part inhabited by a race known as Dravidians. The Aryan invaders pushed on and on until they had possessed themselves of a large part of the country except in the South, driving out or amalgamating with the somewhat civilized but not so highly-civilized Dravidians.

The India of to-day is nearly all Aryan and Dravidian,—but with a relatively small Mongolian or partly Mongolian element (about one-thirtieth of the whole population) in the North and North-east; a slight Persian and Afghan element in the North-west, and certain small miscellaneous elements in the hills and remoter regions here and there, which are remnants of a primitive people or peoples somewhat like our North American aborigines.

Thus we see how baseless is the claim that India is extraordinarily or seriously conglomerate or divided racially. As a fact, it contains less diversity of races than Europe, and far less than the United States of America, which, as already said, contains nearly all the languages and races of the world.

Why do not Englishmen, who urge that India is unable to govern itself and must be ruled by the British because of its diversity of tongues and peoples, apply the same principle to their own empire as a whole? The British Empire contains all the diversities of every kind that are found in India, and at least two or three times as many more. Do Englishmen think that therefore they are unfit to rule their Empire, and that it ought to be ruled by some outside power?

The fact is, this whole argument that India contains a large number of languages and peoples and therefore needs to be ruled by foreigners is a hollow, is a bogey, is something devised in order to furnish seeming justification for Great Britain's remaining in a country where, for selfish reasons, she wants to remain, but where she has no right to be. It is strange that any sane mind can fail to see instantly that the greater the number of peoples and languages there are in India or any other country, the stronger becomes the reason why it should be ruled *not by foreigners but by its own sons, who know most about these languages and peoples.*

The claim is made by many Englishmen that the diversities of language, race, and so

* A recent census of New Bedford, Mass., shows that in that relatively small American city 58 languages are spoken.

† In 1921 the population of Canada was 8,788,483, and that of India 318,942,480.

forth, found in India, destroy her *unity*, make it incorrect to think or speak of India as *one*, or as a *nation at all*: and for this reason she cannot govern herself.

This argument, which is accepted as true by many who know nothing to the contrary has been answered many times over, and with great thoroughness, both by Indian scholars and by Englishmen, who have shown that, notwithstanding all the diversities that have been mentioned, deep down below them all India is profoundly one—that as a fact she has a unity older and more fundamental than that of any other extensive country or great people or nation in the world with the possible exception of China. Let us see what are some of the evidences of this as shown by historians and scholars.

Perhaps the most widely circulated and therefore the most mischievous statement we have of the claim that India has no unity, is not a nation, is that made by Sir John Strachey on the opening page of his well-known book, "India." There he says:

"The first and most essential thing to be learned about India, is, that there is not and never was an India possessing according to European ideas any sort of unity, physical, social, political, or religious; no Indian nation, no people of India of which we hear so much."

This alleged condition of things he claims to be a clear justification of British rule. What answer is to be made? A more than sufficient answer is furnished by a high British official, writing much later than Sir John Strachey, who has given us two of our most trustworthy books on India. In his important work, "The Government of India," Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at one time Premier, declares that India is one in absolutely every sense in which Mr. Strachey denies the unity. Here are his words (pp. 28, 29):

"India from the Himalays to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has fore-ordained an Indian Empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety does not hide from view its unity. The Himalayas and their continuing barriers frame off the great peninsula from the rest of Asia. Its long rivers, connecting its extremities and its interior with the sea knit it together for communication and transport purposes; its varied productions, interchangeable with one another, make it a convenient industrial unit, maintaining contact with the world through the great ports to the east and west.

"Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This

spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture.

"A historical atlas of India shows how again and again the natural unity of India has influenced conquest and showed itself in empires. The realms of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka (305-232 B. C.) embraced practically the whole peninsula, and ever after, amidst the swaying and falling of dynasties, this unity has been the dream of every victor and has never lost its potency."

Elsewhere (*Indian World*, November, 1910), Mr. MacDonald gives the following further testimony as to the fundamental unity of India. He says:

"One thing which the stranger in India quickly discovers is, that Indians—at any rate Hindus, and not a few Mohammedans—always think of India as a whole. In spite of her various languages, in spite of her different races and castes, in spite of her great distances; she is always thought of as one. Benares is the sacred city of both Buddhists and Hindus. Numbers of the holy places of India are holy to Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan, all alike. The Ganges is the sacred river of practically all India. All Indians feel a sacred reverence for the Himalayas. Indian culture is to a remarkable degree one. The great Epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, are more truly universal classics in India than is Shakespeare in England. As represented in her legends, the councils of her gods always have ruled and still rule the whole land south of the great mountains, her pilgrims have wandered and still wander to her shrines from all her corners. This sense of unity in the heart of the people of India is a far greater binding force than the separatist force of the differences in social status, caste and religion."

Says Vincent Smith, than whom there is no higher historical authority:

"India circled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious, and intellectual development of mankind." ("Early History of India.")

William Archer in his "India and the Future" devotes a chapter to "The Unity of India" in which he declares that Indian unity is "indisputable."

There is no greater uniting force known among peoples and nations in the world than religion. This applies with pre-eminent emphasis to India.

Many centuries before the Christian Era Hinduism spread over virtually the whole peninsula of Hindustan. Although originating among the Aryan peoples of the North-west, it soon extended beyond, and was widely accepted by the Dravidian peoples occupying other parts. Thus it became early

and it remains still, an all-India religion, exercising a strong uniting influence upon practically all the inhabitants of the land and all Indian history and civilization.

Hardly less is to be said of Buddhism, the child of Hinduism. It spread everywhere in India, and its influence everywhere was to create a spirit of unity and brotherhood throughout the whole country.

Writing of the unifying influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, Lord Acton says :

"Just as Christianity attempted during the Middle Ages to provide a common civilization for Western Europe, on the basis of which the various nations and races might combine in a common State, in the same manner Hinduism provided, during many centuries, a common civilization for India, which has made and still makes the Indian continent a political unity in spite of a thousand disintegrating forces....To Hinduism, with its offshoot, Buddhism, belongs this great glory that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary, but included the whole continent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the farthest shores of Ceylon. There are few more imposing spectacles in history than this silent, peaceful penetration of Hindu civilization, till the farthest bounds of India were reached."*

Mohammedanism, which came into India much later, has sometimes been called a divider. But even if in certain respects this is true, in a larger and truer way it has been a uniter. The very fact that it has penetrated to virtually all parts of India, has tended to give all parts a common interest in one another and therefore to bind all together. Having become an all-India faith, like Hinduism and Buddhism it has tended to unify the whole land.

What is a nation? What is national unity? Is there any higher authority than John Stuart Mill? In his "Representative Government," Mill defines a nation as follows :

"A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any other, which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government and desire that it should be governed by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of religion greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents: the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollec-

tions: collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past."

Does this definition of nationality describe India? Yes, absolutely; in every respect and in every point.

The truth is, if there is a real nation in the world, a nation with a unity so long-standing and so deep (the growth of thousands of years) that it has become a part of the very intellectual and moral fiber of the people, an ingredient of their very-life blood—that nation is India. Compared with the unity of India, that of every American and European nation is superficial and ephemeral.

It is true that India's unity is made up of variety; many constituent elements enter into it. But of what important national unity is not this true? *E pluribus unum*, "one formed of many," is the motto of the United States; showing that our own American nation glories in the fact of its composite and comprehensive character. Canada is also one formed of many. Every large nation of Europe is formed of numerous smaller political units gathered into one, and most of the nations of any considerable size contain peoples of different races, religions and languages. But these differing elements do not prevent them from being true nations, or from possessing a real unity. Rather is their national life larger and richer because of the many and diverse elements of which it is made up.

This is essentially the condition of things that exists in India. Her eminent poet, Rabindranath Tagore, expresses it well :

"We (the Indian peoples) are one all the
more because we are many;
We have made room for a common love,
A common brotherhood, through all our
separatenesses.
Our unlikenesses reveal the beauty of a
common life deeper than all,
Even as mountain peaks in the morning sun
Reveal the Unity of the mountain range
from which they all lift up their
shining foreheads."*

* A new kind of unity in India has been created by British rule, a kind not foreseen much less desired by the foreign rulers, but now conspicuous and ominous and growing rapidly, namely, the unity of a common desire and determination to throw off a hated yoke.

Practically all the Indian people are now united in their realization of the wrong of being ruled by a foreign nation, of the degradation that it entails upon them, of the humiliating arrogance toward them of their rulers, of the heavy and galling financial load laid on them by an expensive foreign government, of the exploitation and impoverishment of their country in the interest

* Quoted by C. F. Andrews in the *Hindustan Review* of February, 1911.

But even if this were not so ; even if all the statements made by Sir John Strachey and the rest of the imperialists, as to the lack of unity in India, were true, still what right would that give the British to be there, forcing their rule upon an unwilling people ?

A century ago, Italy had no unity. Would Britain have been justified for that reason in conquering and ruling Italy ? In the seventeenth and even as late as the eighteenth century, Germany was divided into some two or three hundred kingdoms, prince-doms, and other petty sovereignties of one kind and another, with hardly a shadow of real unity among them. Did that give England a right to subjugate and govern Germany ? China to-day has very imperfect unity. Does any one claim that it would be right for Britain or Japan or any other foreign nation to conquer and rule China ? There have been times in England's own history when she had little unity, when for long periods she was distracted by many and serious divisions. Does any Englishman believe that those divisions gave any foreign power a right to come and subdue and govern England ?

Then why would want of unity, why would divisions, in India, even if they existed to the monotonously exaggerated degree affirmed by men like Sir John Strachey, give Great Britain even the shadow of a right to conquer the land and rule it by the power of the sword ?

One further thought in conclusion.

The British declare that they cannot give India (India as a whole) self-rule, because she lacks unity. But there are great Provinces, great States, really great Nations in India

which possess unity,—unity quite as complete and perfect as that of France, or Germany, or Italy, or the United States. Why is not self-rule given at least to these ? In other words, why does not Britain grant self-government to such great and important populations as the Bengalis in the East, the Marhattas in the West, the Telugus and Tamils in the South, and others, who are united in language, in race, in history, and in every other important respect, who have literatures, arts and cultures of their own, and whose numbers are greater than those of most of the European nations ?

What interpretation is it possible to put upon the fact that all these States and Provinces in which there is no lack of unity are held in subjection just as firmly and relentlessly as is India as a whole, except that the question of unity has little or nothing to do with the case ? and that the British hold India simply because they want to hold it, for their own advantage, the alleged lack of unity being merely a convenient, and, to persons ignorant of India, a plausible, excuse ? Is this interpretation false ? If so, why do not the British correct it, as they easily may, by giving self-rule at least to those great sections of India which nobody can deny are as united as England itself ?

II

Instead of Britain refusing to give India self-government because of lack of unity, she ought long ago to have learned the lesson taught by history a hundred times over, that nothing is so effective in producing unity among divided peoples as self-government, that is, as the bringing of all parties and classes and sections together for common thinking, common planning, common working for the common welfare ; and that is just what democratic self-government means. When men, however, far apart, begin to plan and work together, and bear responsibilities together, in the interest of a government which they feel is *their own*, in trying to promote the safety and prosperity of a nation, which is really *theirs*, they inevitably tend to grow serious, constructive and united. Many illustrations of this might be mentioned. It will be sufficient if I cite two ; the case of the British Colonies in America which became the United States, and that of Canada.

of foreigners, of the the injury done their children by the refusal of the government to provide adequate schools and education. These and many other injustices have strongly and increasingly tended to unite all sections of the Indian people by giving them a deep grievance which they all share ; a common reason for complaint and protest, a common battle to fight. As Mr. H. W. Nevins has said, "Every act of injustice and tyranny on the part of the British rulers, has promoted India's sense of unity, by creating, among all classes, a realization of common suffering, and a new and united impulse to shake off the tyranny and thus end the suffering." As a fact, there is no other such uniter of any people anywhere in the world as a common feeling that they are oppressed, and a common fight for freedom. This kind of unification is now strong in India, and is steadily and irresistibly deepening and becoming more intense.

In the case of the former, few persons have any adequate understanding at all of the wide differences and divergencies of almost every kind that existed among them. The Colonies were very widely scattered extending all along the Atlantic seaboard from near Nova Scotia in the North to near the Gulf of Mexico in the South. Their inhabitants were from different countries of Europe; they had different religions and spoke several different languages. Their industrial and commercial interests were very different, and in many cases antagonistic. It was widely declared in England that these thirteen different Colonies (virtually thirteen little separate nations), with so many differences, rivalries and contentions, could not possibly unite in one government, or rule themselves; and that without the overlordship of Great Britain there would be disorder, anarchy and local wars throughout the land.

Says the historian Lecky :

"Great bodies of Dutch, Germans, French, Swedes, Scotch and Irish, scattered among the descendants of the English, contributed to the heterogeneous character of the Colonies, and they comprised so many varieties of government, religious belief, commercial interest, and social type that their union appeared to many incredible."*

An English traveller named Burnby made an extensive tour of observation through the American Colonies in 1759 and 1760, and on his return to London published an account of the same, in which he said :

"Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different Colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys, Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation for them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each Colony are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other, while the Indians and Negroes would watch the opportunity to exterminate them altogether."

As a matter of fact, the differences and antagonisms between the Colonies were so great that, even after the Revolutionary War

had been fought and their independence from Great Britain had been won, it was difficult to persuade them to unite, and very difficult for them to form a government acceptable to all. But no sooner was a common government set up, with its parliamentary or representative system, which placed all the colonies on a level and set all to the task of working together and planning for the common good, than the old differences and antagonisms began to disappear. And it was not long before the new nation, the United States of America, was as united, as peaceful, and as efficient a government as probably existed in the entire world.

Turning to the history of Canada, we find a situation in many respects the same, and with the same lesson to teach. For a long time Canada was denied self-rule; she was regarded as not fit to govern herself, partly because her area was so great, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific; and partly because her people were so divided in race, language and religion,—her white population being about one-half French, speaking the French language and professing the Roman Catholic faith, and the other half being English, speaking the English language and professing the Protestant faith, while in the land, scattered throughout all parts, were scores of tribes of aborigines, or native "Red Indians," all having separate customs and cultures, and all speaking different tongues, and still in addition to these, there were in the far north various tribes of Eskimos, with strange languages, and with customs and modes of life different from all other peoples.

How could a country of such vast extent, and with a population so scattered, divided and diverse, and possessing so little unity of any kind, govern itself? Surely, it would be full of anarchy, wars and bloodshed, resulting in ultimate division into smaller nations forever fighting one another, if England withdrew her hand.

Was this what happened? It was the exact opposite of what happened. So long as the foreign rule of Great Britain continued there was discontent, ever-increasing discontent, with insurrections and rebellions breaking out here and there, and others forever threatening. There was no feeling of general unity, no assured general peace and no general contentment until the country was given self-rule, that is, until it was

* "England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. IV, p. 12.

given its present dominion status, with freedom and power to manage its own affairs. Then a marvellous change came. A feeling of unity such as would have been forever impossible under a foreign rule began to make its appearance; the different parts of the country began to develop a common interest, and to draw together for promotion of the common welfare, and there was such contentment and peace, and also such efficiency of government, as had never been known before.

In these experiences,—that of the American Colonies which separated themselves from Great Britain and under independence grew united in spirit and strong; and in the experience of Canada which also found that self-rule meant unity and strength, there is a very important lesson for both India and Great Britain. It is folly to claim that because of differences of race and language and religion India requires to be ruled by foreigners. What India needs to make her united and strong, is self-government. Nothing in the world would be so effective in causing the people of India to forget their differences of race and

language and religion and to become united, and, when united, peaceful and efficient and powerful, as to set up for themselves a parliamentary government of their own, and begin the practical work of ruling themselves. That would mightily increase their self-respect, their confidence in themselves, their moral stamina, their interest in one another, their desire to promote peace in the land, and their ability to defend India in case of danger.

If the British, with all power in their hands, had set up a Parliamentary Government in India when Lord Ripon (in 1880-1884) made so fine a start toward it (which India hailed with delight but which the British thwarted) we may well believe that, by this time, all the Indian peoples outside of the "Native States," and probably with some of them included, would have been working together through their representatives as harmoniously, and, so far as can be seen, wellnigh or quite as efficiently, as Canada or the United States.

[This article is a chapter of the author's forthcoming work on "India's Case for Freedom."]

NEW PERSIA IN WORLD POLITICS

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

WHEN Napoleon planned to attack Britain in India with Russian aid, Great Britain had to direct her attention to Persia, so that it might not be used as the base of operations against India. When the fear of French aggression disappeared, the problem of Russian march, through Central Asia to the Persian Gulf took its place. Later on when Germany was seeking an outlet in the Persian Gulf, for her Berlin-Bagdad Railway, Great Britain agreed to settle her differences with Russia, purely for strategical reasons—safety of India. Thus it should be well to bear in mind, while studying British policy in Persia, that although British economic interests in that country are very considerable, yet Britain's Persian policy is primarily based on strategical reasons. So long as India remains under

British control, so long as Britain continues to play the role of dominant power in the vast region between the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf, strategical considerations will be the deciding factor in formulating British policy.

It is the opinion of a very competent American observer and student of World Politics, that—

"Almost every action of British Government with respect to Persia, since the beginning of the nineteenth century can be interpreted as the result of aggressive or acquisitive ambitions. Especially this is so in the present century, when the progress of British influence in Persia has very often appeared to strike at the independence of that unfortunate nation. It seemed on several occasions (as in 1919) that Great Britain, having been instrumental in detaching two of the Persian provinces, Afghanistan and half of Beluchistan, and having acquired domination over the mineral

wealth of the South-west, was about to take the final gulp and swallow the whole country."^{*}

In 1919 when, through the efforts of Lord Curzon, the Anglo-Persian Treaty was concluded, Russia was in no position to oppose the British attempt to incorporate Persia into the British Empire. So sure were the British statesmen—Lord Curzon and Sir Percy Cox—about the importance of the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919, by which British control over Persian Finance, Army and Foreign Relations was to be firmly established, that they paid 75,000 *tamans* to the three Persian statesmen—Vossug-ed-Dowleh, the then Prime-Minister, Prinz Firuz, the Minister of Finance and Saram-ed-Dowleh—who signed the treaty on behalf of Persia. But new Persia—Nationalist Persia—oust the corrupt ministry and the cabinet of Zia-ed-Din on February 26, 1921 repudiated the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919. Persian nationalists dared to take this bold stand, because the Government of Soviet Russia, under the leadership of Lenin and Tchicherin had repudiated the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1907, (by which Persia was practically partitioned between Great Britain and Tsarist Russia). Furthermore, to stiffen the opposition to any further British encroachment in Persia, the Soviet Russian Government supported Persian national aspirations. By the Russo-Persian Treaty of 1921, the Soviet Government gave up all Russian claims and concessions in Persia, except Russian fishery rights in the Caspian Sea.

This meant a very serious defeat for the British Government, which was forced to change its tactics on the diplomatic battlefield of Persia. For the time being, it preferred to remain inactive politically and militarily, while merely protecting British economic and commercial interests—interests of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Indo-European Telegraph Company and the Imperial Bank of Persia, which are virtually British Government institutions, and other minor concerns.

When it became apparent to the British authorities that Reza Khan represented the strongest factor in Persian politics, they were willing to support him.

"In the autumn of 1925, when Reza ascended the throne, it was with the full approval and

sympathy of the British. The first Government to recognize Reza as the head of the provisional Government was the British, and the British recognized him first as Shah."^{*}

Thus it is safe to assert that the *British policy* towards Persia has been to bring the country within the orbit of British influence or control. This policy has not been abandoned at any time, *although diplomatic tactics of Britain in Persia varied to suit various circumstances.*

The policy of Soviet Russia towards the peoples of the East is certainly not actuated by pure altruism, although the desire of some of the Soviet leaders, especially Tchicherin, is sincere. In this desire of freeing the peoples of Asia, there is the element of self-interest—preservation of the Soviet State—; so that the peoples of Asia would not make a common cause or be utilised by Great Britain against Soviet Russia.

It has been well said by a Soviet Russian diplomat in Persia, "*Government may change, but Russia always remains.*" This Russia, under the Soviet Government has at the present time given up the aggressive policy in Persia and is following *the policy of peaceful penetration*. This Russia of today is as energetically opposed to any British economic advance in northern Persia, as was the old Russia of the days of the Tsars "It is by no means an exaggeration to say that such an advance would contain definite danger of war."[†]

While new Persia, anxious to maintain her national independence, is trying hard to re-organise the administration of the land on more efficient lines by employing foreign (primarily American) experts, is busy in adopting measures to spread education among the masses and women and building railroads and other transportation facilities and a strong army for national defense, it seems that the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia is taking a new, definite and threatening shape.

It was the Russian support to the nationalist Persia that defeated the British project of controlling Persia, through the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919. It was the Soviet-Turkish joint-action against Britain and Greece which contributed largely to the success of Nationalist Turkey.

^{*} Sheehan, Vincent: *The New Persia*, New York, The Century Co., 1927, page 162.

^{*} Ibid. p. 178

[†] Ibid. p. 157

Soviet support to the cause of Afghan independence strengthened the Afghan cause and later on Britain had to acknowledge Afghan sovereignty. Consolidation of Soviet Russian position through neutrality treaties with Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan has forced Great Britain to adopt means to strengthen her position in Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf and the Indian North-Western Frontier regions.

Great Britain's recent treaty with the Kingdom of Hedjaz (concluded in May 1927), by which the signatories pledged themselves to maintain friendly relations with Bahrein, is regarded as prejudicial to Persian interests. Bahrein, with a population of 120,000, consists of a group of islands in the Persian Gulf, 300 miles south of Basra. Although Great Britain in 1868 established a sort of protectorate over it, guaranteeing its autonomy, Persia never recognized this arrangement and always claimed Persian sovereignty over it; and the justice of the Persian claim was recognized by Lord Clarendon in 1869.

Last November the Persian Government protested against the Anglo-Hedjaz treaty; and not being satisfied with the British reply, during the last days of December 1927, complained to the League of Nations that "the treaty concluded between Great Britain and Hedjaz last May encroached upon the

sovereignty of Persia." The outcome of this dispute, in all probability, will result in British victory and thus further increase of British power and prestige in Southern Persia, and greater tension between Britain and nationalist Persia supported by Soviet Russia.

Whatever may be the future development in New Persia,

"It is not likely that Britain's hold over the Southern part of Persia will be relaxed; and the most definite trend perceptible in the course of the past few years has been strengthening of that hold, so that southern Persia is already, in a practical sense, a part of the British Empire. British policy defends that property; and its secondary aspect tends to advance to the north."²

Anglo-Russian rivalry in Persia is acute and Persian nationalists are anxious to free their country from direct or indirect control of alien powers. This may lead to a conflict of serious character. In such a conflict, Persia may have the support of Soviet Russia, whereas the Arabs will fight for Britain against Persia. Afghanistan and Turkey will either adopt a policy of neutrality or side with Persia, whichever may serve their best interests. However, India's man-power, strategic position and military strength will be the determining factor in such a conflict.

* Ibid. p. 189.

A LILY FROM THE GUTTER

By SITA DEVI

THE world may be compared to a village, lying at the foot of a sleeping volcano. Man knows that any moment an eruption may occur, reducing his world to ashes, but he refuses to believe it. He could not live, if he believed it. So he goes on the even tenor of his way, as if there were not the slightest cause of fear.

But for the unlucky, the volcano rises out of its age-long sleep. The man who yesterday lacked nothing in men, money or fame, takes to the road today, a beggar nothing but his life left to him. Satyasaran,

the much-petted son of the Mitra family, was one such unfortunate.

His father came of a very rich family. For two or three generations, they had been spending the money, amassed by their forbears but had not yet succeeded in exhausting the store. He and his eldest son Nityasaran together, were trying hard though, to bring about this seemingly impossible event. Satyasaran's eldest sister, Saroja, was married with such pomp and splendour, that even the metropolis looked on agape with wonder. Nityasaran was sent to England

for continuing his studies. He lived there three years, and came back with, Lord knows, how much knowledge, acquired. Man only saw that he had acquired a very pretty English girl for his wife.

Nityasaran's mother was not living. Neither was there any other aged female relative in the family. So the new daughter-in-law did not have to meet with any obstacles in the shape of orthodox relatives. The father was a famous agnostic, and did not care a penny about orthodoxy. He frowned as he saw his new daughter-in-law, then seemed to forget her existence altogether. Saroja's relatives-in-law became loud in abuse for a few days, but meeting with no response anywhere, had to stop, baffled. The youngest girl, Niroja, had not yet been married at all, so there were none in that quarter to abuse the Mitras, for lack of orthodoxy.

The new bride, suddenly developed a most amazing hobby. She wanted motor cars, matching all her dresses. The infatuated young husband did not find anything extraordinary in this demand. So blue cars, green cars, cream-coloured cars, silver-gray cars began to roll in one by one, and fill all the garages. Niroja turned up her pretty nose, Saroja wrote a most abusive letter to her brother, while their father sat with a hideous smile on his lips and a glass of wine in hand. Satyasaran, alone, of all the family made no remarks. He was busy, preparing for the M. A. examination, and had no time to inspect the garage of his sister-in-law.

At this juncture, the volcano woke up suddenly. Nityasaran, his wife and Niroja, came home from a feast, and died within twenty-four hours, of, acute food-poisoning. Niroja was the last to expire. As her body was being carried out of her room, a tremendous report was heard from a room in the first floor. The old man, their father, had blown his brains out.

The heart and brain of Satyasaran seemed to be paralysed. He did not weep, he did not talk, only sat on like a dumb animal, in a corner of his room. Saroja came over from her husband's house. She wept loudly and wanted Satyasaran to come away with her. But he would not budge an inch.

As soon as the old man died, dame Fortune left his house for ever. He had enormously overdrawn at the bank and had borrowed money right and left. The family solicitors at once advised Satyasaran to apply

for insolvency. He left the home of his boyhood for ever with nothing but a few clothes, which he carried in a suitcase. He had to put up at Saroja's, for a few days, but he had determined not to stay there, for more than two or three days.

The metropolis seemed like an inferno to him. He was determined to leave Bengal, as everything connected with his past had become insufferable to him. He could not even look at the face of his sister. If any friends came to see him, he would promptly walk out of the house.

"You will go mad, if you keep on like this," his brother-in-law, Akhil, said. "Why don't you start on a tour? You better stay out, for a year or two."

"I have not money enough to buy a third class railway ticket", Satyasaran said. "Where can I go?"

"Oh, that's all right," said Akhil, patting him on the shoulder. "We have taken thousands from your father when we needed them. So we should be able to lend you a few hundreds in your hour of need. If you don't want to accept a gift, take it as a loan, and repay it when you are able."

"I don't think, I shall ever be able to do that", said Satyasaran with a sad smile. "Still, it is better to borrow from you, than from a stranger. Give me five hundred, at present."

"Where do you think of going?" his brother-in-law asked.

"I think, I shall go to Burma," Satyasaran replied, "it is said to be a land of opportunities."

No calendar was consulted to find out an auspicious moment for starting. Misfortune was already a permanent guest at his home, so it was not needful to offer her a bribe of fear. The first steamer available was good enough for Satyasaran. He started as a deck passenger. He scarcely heeded how the three days passed. Sometimes he bought food and sometimes he went without.

He knew many people in Rangoon. He had wired to one of them before starting, to meet him at the wharf. He was relieved to see that the gentleman had complied with his request. He was a stranger to the place, and it might have gone hard with him, had he been left alone to fend for himself.

He found the land refreshingly new. The men belonged to another race, their dresses were strange, their speech meaningless to him. Many of the houses were built in a

strange way. Satyasan began to hope, that he would be able to forget the blow, destiny had dealt him, if he stayed on here. How cheerful and care-free these Burmese looked! He wondered if they had ever suffered! Could they go about in such bright coloured dresses and with such smiling faces, if Fate had been unkind to them?

"These people are not as poverty-stricken, as those of our own land, are they?" he asked his friend, Biswanath Babu. "None of them seem poor."

"That's true to a certain extent," his friend replied, "but these people are not so very rich, as may appear at first sight. They spend less on the other necessities of life, and so, are able to dress much better, than the Indians."

They reached their destination very soon. Biswanath did not live here with his family, because it cost too much. But he had grown too old to mess with various strange young-men, so he rented a small flat, and lived there, with his Chittagonian servant.

The hackney carriage stopped before a house in a small lane. Biswanath Babu got down, and shouted—"Kamini, Kamini," looking upwards. A few minutes later, a tall, stalwart man came down the stairs of the house, collected all the luggage and carried them up, single handed. Satyasan felt amused to think, that the fellow was called Kamini (lady). He certainly did not look effeminate.

They came up the narrow and dark stairs and entered a room on the first floor. Biswanath Babu understood clearly the amazement, with which his guest was surveying the room. "We have no houses here, as we understand the word in India. Most of us have to pass our days in those wooden cages," he said.

Satyasan sat down in that dark, bare room, destitute of any kind of furniture. Perhaps, this was what he needed, he thought. The more drastic the change, the better for him. He had come here to forget that he was the son of a very rich man, so he should not expect any kind of luxury and comfort.

"I shall have to rush off to my blessed office," his friend said, "after I have had my breakfast. You, too, have yours. What will you do, all the afternoon?"

"I shall look around a bit," Satyasan said.

"All right", Biswanath said; "but be careful not to pick up a quarrel with any

Burmese. These people don't think much of stabbing a person."

"I have very little practice in the art of quarreling," Satyasan said, "I could not quarrel now, even if I tried."

He went to have his bath. He came back to see the servant preparing to lay their breakfast. Instead of the customary pieces of carpet, two newspapers were spread on the floor. Two tumblers of aluminium were secured for the drinking water. Biswanath Babu was waiting for him. Satyasan had eaten next to nothing in the steamer, so he was hungrily expecting his breakfast. He sat down without delay.

But the first mouthful nearly drew tears from his eyes. How painfully hot! besides, his palate was a stranger to such remarkably bad cooking. He gave up all hopes of eating the vegetable curry and began to take his rice with the *dal* alone.

"Cannot you eat?" asked his host. "This fellow used to sweep roads in his own country, I think. In Rangoon, he has turned out to be a very good cook. He does not know a single thing! One could eat a bit, if he would only boil the things. But no, he must cook! I cannot teach him anything, he is such an awful idiot. Bring some more *dal* for the new Babu, you good-for-nothing wretch. Is the fish very hot too? I told him to do his best, as I was expecting a guest, so he has lavished all the red pepper he had in his store on the breakfast."

The servant had begun to look very much abashed, and Satyasan felt a certain pity for him. Why had Fate played him such a trick? His name did not suit him, neither did his occupation. He should have been a prize fighter by rights. So in order to console the fellow, he said, "No, no, the fish is all right."

The man was so pleased, that he ran off at once to bring him more fish. This dish, too, was very hot; but Satyasan ate on with heroic fortitude, restraining his tears with difficulty, in order to keep his word.

After finishing breakfast, his host left him for his office. Satyasan rested about half an hour, then he too walked out. He was new to the place, he looked about him very carefully, so that he might not forget his way.

Rangoon was the capital of Burma, but there were not so many Burmese people about, as one would expect. In fact, one met more Madrasis here than Burmese. Indians

of various classes and castes, some turbaned, some with caps on, some bare-headed, abounded everywhere. There was no lack of Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans too. Small eating shops could be seen everywhere on the footpaths, which were greatly patronised even by very well-dressed people. Chinese and Burmese men went about selling Mohinga which seemed a great delicacy. Burmese flower-women and fruit-women walked along with free easy strides. It was evident that they had never known purdah. The rickshaw reigned here, as the king of conveyances. The rickshawmen were all of the province of Madras. Satyasaran went on and on, without knowing where he was going. Up to this time, he had been following a high road. Now seeing a small, thickly peopled lane, before him, he directed his steps there. Evidently, the dwellers hereabouts, were very poor. The lane was dirty, the houses looked insanitary and dingy. People slept on the footpaths in broad daylight, others lolled here and there, fanning themselves with the handkerchiefs they usually tied round their heads. Most of them were coolies and rickshaw pullers. They spoke in Tamil and Telugu, which were nothing but mere sounds to Satyasaran.

At the other end of the lane, before a small shop, a furious quarrel seemed to be raging. About twenty persons, male and female, shouted and gesticulated with all their might and a large crowd had gathered around to see the fun. Satyasaran felt curious and went and stood amidst the crowd.

The combatants seemed to be Madrasis, so much Satyasaran guessed from their language, though he hardly understood a word of it. A young girl, of about twenty years, sat on the ground, weeping. She had an orange-coloured Saree on, with broad red borders. She wore no ornaments. Her face was pretty and her complexion, though dark, glowed with health. A large fat man, stood before her. He had many thick gold ornaments on and wore a cloth with fancy borders. He seemed in a furious temper and was shouting angrily at an attenuated old man, who, on his part, waved his arms about wildly, and seemed to be trying to make his adversary see reason. The fat person rushed at the young woman, every now and then, and pulled her sharply by the arm. The girl snatched away her hand and wept

even more loudly. Questions in all the dialects of India, were being showered up on these persons, but none answered these. They were too busy, with their own quarrel.

Satyasaran wanted to know, what the matter was. He looked around and saw that there were a few Bengalis in the crowd. He approached an old gentleman and asked, "What's the matter, sir? What are they quarreling about?"

The old gentleman looked up and said, "These people have very little to do, save quarrel. They toil like slaves, squander all their earnings on drink, then fight and quarrel. Last of all, they go to the hospital and die."

"But what's the bone of contention in this case?" Satyasaran asked again. "Why is that fat man pulling about that girl so?"

"He has bought the girl, of that old man", the gentleman said, "now the girl does not want to go with him. So this scene".

Satyasaran could hardly believe his ears. "What do you mean? Bought the girl, did you say? Won't the police arrest him?"

The old gentleman made a gesture of contempt with his hand. "Thousands of such cases happen everyday", he said. "Who informs the police? This fat rascal will take away the girl, will keep her for some days, and then will sell her to somebody else, whenever he wants money for drink. To these people, women are no better than chattel. This girl is in for a good beating, she is picking up such a row."

Satyasaran was highly excited. "What an awful state of affairs!" he cried. "I did not know, that such things could happen in broad daylight, in any civilized country. Ought not we to inform the police?"

"What would be the good of that?" the old gentleman asked. "The police would arrest this old man and the fat rascal, but they would do nothing for the girl. Her friends and relatives won't take her in, even if she has got any here. Even if they do, they themselves will become her persecutors, a few days later."

Satyasaran kept on saying. "But this is infamous, sir. One can't look on quietly and do nothing. Could nothing be done to save the girl?"

The old gentleman laughed. "Of course, something could be done, if you cared to do it. You can buy the girl from that fat

rascal, if you offer a price big enough. But I don't think you need be so very anxious about the girl. She is making such a fuss, not because she is being sold like cattle, but because she does not like that man. Being sold into slavery is nothing new to them."

Satyasaran gave very little heed to his last words and said, "I can buy her, if there's no other way. It might mean the loss of everything I have, but that matters little. I cannot stand by and see a fellow creature sold into infamy. But where am I to help her, even if I succeed in buying her? I have landed here just today, and I have no relatives here."

"Arrangements for keeping her in safety might be made," the old man said. "But if you really intend buying her, then please, hurry up. Their meeting is drawing to a close, it seems. I think they are going to have recourse to their fists."

It was really so. The fat man let out a roar like that of an animal and seizing the girl by her hair, lifted her by main force from the ground. The crowd began to melt away. Nobody listened to the piteous cries of the girl; even the old man, who had sold her prepared to walk off, with his bundles.

Satyasaran could bear no more. He made his way through the crowd, and pushed back the fat man, thus releasing the girl. A terrible uproar ensued. Satyasaran's voice was completely drowned in the turmoil. The old gentleman rushed to his help and standing by him, he began to explain to the people in a mixed dialect of Telugu and Hindi. The uproar lessened and the girl looked up at Satyasaran, her big eyes full of gratitude. Her recent purchaser, too, stared at him, an ugly smile wreathing his puffy face.

"What have you told them?" Satyasaran asked.

"The thing they understand best of all," he replied. "I told them that this young gentleman from Bengal has taken a great liking to this girl. If you sell her to him, well and good. But if you don't, we will send for the police, you will all be severely punished, as the young gentleman is related to the police superintendent."

Satyasaran shrank within himself in dismay. Good Heavens! What a character had he been given, before so many people. But he was prepared to stand all, if he could save the girl thereby. It mattered very little, what this motley crowd thought of him.

"Ask them," he told the old gentleman, "how much they want for the girl."

The fat man waved his arms about and poured forth a torrent of words in answer to this question. Satyasaran approached the girl and asked, "What's your name?"

The girl understood Hindi a little, she looked at Satyasaran and answered, "My name is Kanakamma, Babu."

At this juncture the old gentleman turned round and said, "This rascal is pretty greedy. He wants two hundred for the girl, though he himself had scarcely paid fifty."

Satyasaran was in a hurry to close this affair. "All right," he said, "I shall pay two hundred. But I have not got the money with me. I must return home to get it. Would these people wait here for me?"

"It is difficult to answer for them," the gentleman said. "You better do one thing. My house is close by. Ask this rascal and the girl to come with us, and wait for you in my rooms. You go and get the money, as quick as you can. You were destined to lose money to-day, otherwise why should you happen to be here just at this moment?"

"Well, it is not pure loss," Satyasaran said. "I may have lost in money, but I consider it a gain to have saved a fellow-being from worse than death."

"You are young yet", laughed the gentleman. "You look at the world through rosy lenses. We have grown hard. To us, loss is loss. But let's get a move on, it's no use standing bareheaded in this sun."

His flat was not very far from where they stood. They arrived there in a minute. The sight-seers were a bit disappointed at not being able to see this drama to the end and gradually melted away.

A few children rushed out of the inner rooms, at the advent of these strange visitors, and gazed at them with wide open eyes. The ladies, too, looked out, through half-closed doors and windows. Kanakamma stood in a corner in a shrinking attitude. The fat man sat down on the floor and gazed around curiously, Satyasaran rushed off almost at once to get the money.

He took a rickshaw and made the coolie run for all he was worth. His brain seethed with conflicting thoughts. What was he to do with this girl? If it had been a boy, instead of a girl, the problem would have been much simpler. He could have worked as a servant in his house. But he had no

female relatives here, to whom he could entrust the girl. He was completely new to the place and did not know, whether there were any homes here, for such shelterless creatures.

He arrived at his destination and rushed indoors. Kamini was a bit surprised to see him. Without telling him anything, Satyasaran opened his trunk and took out two hundred rupees in currency notes. He mounted his rickshaw again and was back to the scene of action, within a few minutes.

As he handed the notes to the fat man, he got up baring all his teeth, in greedy pleasure. "Salam, Babu", he said, and went down the stairs, still grinning. Kanakamma looked at her deliverer with the frightened gaze of a wild gazelle. "What am I to do with her now?" Satyasaran asked the other gentleman.

"First let us enquire", he said, "Whether she has any friends or relatives here."

The girl, upon enquiry, said that she had an aunt living in Kalabasti, she could find shelter there for this day. But they were very poor, they would not keep her for more than one day. Her uncle was a heavy drinker, and he would beat her.

"Not a very desirable shelter for a girl", Satyasaran said "It would be 'out of the frying pan into the fire' for her. What's to be done then?"

"Let her go there for tonight at least", the old gentleman said, "To-morrow we would think out something for her. Do you know your way to their house, girl?"

The girl said, she would recognise the house, if taken to Kalabasti. "I am completely new to the place," Satyasarn said, "Since you have done so much for her, do a bit more. Let us go and leave her at her aunt's."

They hired a hackney carriage and started. Kalabasti was not very far off it was but a suburb of Rangoon. Reaching that quarter, they dismissed the carriage and walked along on foot. Kanakamma led the way. At last they entered a narrow, evil-smelling lane. The houses on both sides were of wood or tin, not a single brick and mortar one, amongst the lot. The inhabitants seemed to be all Telugu-speaking.

They stopped before a tumble-down hut, roofed over with tin. The master of the house happened to be seated outside on a broken wooden bedstead. He let out a shout, as he saw Kanakamma. At once a

crowd of people rushed out of the hut. Pointing out a most hideous-looking bag, the girl introduced her to the gentlemen as her aunt.

"Ask her," said Satyasaran, "Whether you might stay with them for a day or two."

A torrent of words in Telugu, poured out. After five minutes of this, the girl informed them that her relatives could keep her for two days, but not a day more. But she must pay them eight annas for her food. Satyasaran handed out the requisite amount at once, to the greedy old woman. "Enough for a drink tonight" muttered his companion.

Satyasaran and the other gentleman departed, after assuring the girl again and again, that they would certainly come for her, at the end of two days. As long as they could see her, Kanakamma stood at the door of the hut, looking at them with frightened, piteous eyes. Satyasaran felt pity for the poor girl. If he could have left her in a better place, he would have felt more at ease. But these people were a thorough bad lot. Perhaps they had already begun to belabour her with firewood.

Reaching town, they dispensed with the carriage and walked along again.

"Can any arrangement be made for her, within two days?" he asked his companion anxiously.

"Certainly", he replied. "Forty eight hours should be enough for such a simple job. Empires have been built up and overthrown within this time."

"Shall I find you at home, in the evening?" Satyasaran asked, "If you say so, I shall meet you there with Biswanath Babu. Everything will have to be done by you. I am totally useless in this place, I know nothing and nobody."

"The most important part has already been taken by you," laughed the old gentleman, "viz, providing the money. Are you at Biswanath Babu's place? Do you mean Biswanath Ghosh of the Bank?"

"Yes, yes," said Satyasaran; do you know him? Then there will be no difficulty. What shall I tell him?

"Tell him," said his companion, "That you met Gopal Choudhuri. He will understand."

He accompanied Satyasaran to his flat, but did not come in. The front door was open, so he went in, and sat waiting for Biswanath Babu. Kamini brought him a cup of strong tea and a plate of home-made sweets. Satyasaran began to sip his tea

slowly, the sweets looked too repulsive to be taken, so he left them alone.

Biswanath Babu came in after a time. He threw his hat violently on a chair crying out, "I am fed up with this life. I want a bit of rest for my old bones." Then he turned to his young guest and asked "My dear boy how did you enjoy yourself? Did you like the town?"

"I saw very little of it," Satyasaran said, "I got entangled in a nasty business which took up all my time."

"How's that?" asked his host. Satyasaran related everything in detail. Having heard him out patiently, the old man shook his head disapprovingly, "no good," he said. "Why did you poke your head in this nasty business? These women are accustomed to be sold as cattle. Beating, too, is no novelty to them. Now, what do you propose doing with the girl?"

"I want your advice for that," Satyasaran said, "You and Gopal Babu must settle it."

"Gopal Chondhuri is old enough to know this world. He should have given you better counsel. What's the use of throwing away good money? How much have you still left? Give it to me or put it in a savings bank, otherwise all the loafers and beggars of Rangoon will soon relieve you of it."

"I have not got much with me," Satyasaran said. "I started with one thousand. I have paid for my passage here, and bought a few necessary things for myself. Then I spent these two hundred. I think I still have about seven hundred with me."

Kamini brought in tea for his master at this juncture. "Leave the money with me," he said, beginning to eat, "or better put it in the postal savings bank. The less money there is in the house, the better for all. The town is a hot bed of thieves."

After finishing his tea, Satyasaran's host started out with him. Very few people walk on foot here, because the rickshaw is very cheap. So these two, took a rickshaw, and within five minutes, they had reached their destination.

Gopal Babu was waiting for them. He welcomed them cordially, then said, "Fortunately, an opportunity has presented itself. I think, we can dispose of the girl satisfactorily. But judge for yourselves."

"Please tell us," Satyasaran said eagerly.

"A friend of mine," the old man said, "Is on the look out for an ayah for his child. But he cannot pay as much as the profes-

sional ayahs demand here. He could give eight or ten rupees, besides board and lodging. You can place the girl there if you think it advisable. It is safe enough, I can assure you of that. She would be as safe there as in the house of her own parents."

"I think you should avail yourself of this opportunity," Biswanath Babu said, "She will get a good training there and may get a better paid post afterwards."

"Then we will have to bring her over from Kalabasti tomorrow," Gopal Babu said, "Her relatives must be belabouring her pretty soundly by this time. But I advise you young man, to be more prudent in the future. Let these manage their own affairs, don't you get yourself mixed up in them."

Satyasaran smiled without replying. After a few minutes, they got up and took their departure. They felt very little inclination to return to their stuffy little flat just then. So they started for one of the cinemas.

Next morning, after tea, the three started out to bring Kanakamma back from her aunt's house. They had to spend nearly half an hour, in finding out that beautiful lane. At last they got it. Kanakamma was busy, pounding turmeric in a huge mortar. Catching sight of Satyasaran and his companions, she rose up at once and advanced to meet them.

"She is very young," Biswanath Babu said.

As soon as they knew that the Babus had come for Kanakamma, not only the inmates of that house, but also all the inhabitants of that lane crowded around. All gazed at Satyasaran with such rapt attention that the poor fellow grew red with embarrassment. He understood that to them he appeared as the future husband of Kanakamma.

Kanakamma had been wearing an old dirty saree, probably belonging to her venerable relative while busy with pestle and mortar. But now she went in, washed her hands clean and came out wearing that orange-coloured saree, they had formerly seen her in. Her aunt had given her another saree and a brass jar, probably as wedding present. These she carried in her hand.

"One carriage won't hold four," Gopal Babu said, "One of us will have to go by tram."

"Let me go," Biswanath said, "You two are indispensable. I shall wait for you at the corner of—th St." He went off to catch his tram.

Satyasaran hailed a passing carriage and all three got into it. They started for the town.

Biswanath Babu was seen waiting for them at the turning of a lane. The carriage stopped. "Is your house here?" the girl asked.

Satyasaran answered that he did not live here, but the gentleman in whose house she would have to work, lived here. Kanakamma's face became pale with fear and some other emotion. "Then you won't keep me with you?" she asked.

Drops of sweat stood out on Satyasaran's brow. So this girl, too, cherished this hope? How was he to make her understand the utter impossibility of such a happening? Fortunately, Gopal Babu was engaged in a hot debate with the cabman, and did not hear them, otherwise Satyasaran might have found himself in an embarrassing situation.

Somehow he made her understand, that as there were no female relatives of his, in this town, he did not need any ayah just then. So, for the present she would have to stay there, to get a training. If in the future, some better post offered itself, she could go there.

Kanakamma remained silent, with sad, pensive face. That people bought ayahs with hundreds of rupees, for other people, must have seemed a bit strange to her.

Kanakamma was placed with her new master, then Satyasaran and his friends took leave. Satyasaran's heart was full of pity, annoyance and shame. What a frightful mess! Did the girl really cherish this absurd hope? Was she very much disappointed? The more he tried to solve the problem, the more intricate it became. Should he see her again, or should he avoid her completely in future? But how could he avoid her? He was her gurdian now and must look after her in some way.

Before Biswanath left for his office that day, he told Satyasaran again and again not to be so philanthropic, as he had once been. Satyasaran went out that day too, but he carefully avoided every place, where he saw more than two people standing together.

A few days passed off, like this. During the daytime, Satyasaran would go about in search of work, but towards evening, he could not help going sometimes to see Kanakamma. So the narrow lane saw him very frequently. As soon as he would enter the lane, Kanakamma would be seen walking about with

her two small charges. Her large eyes would grow bright with joy on catching sight of him and she would walk up rapidly to him and ask, "Are you all right, sir?"

Her joy would pierce his heart like an arrow, he would answer her somehow and ask how she was. Then he would leave in a hurry. In trying to save her from sorrow he had brought greater sorrow to her perhaps. There was no way out of this mess.

But he had scarcely brought money enough to enable him to pass his days in idle ease. Of course, his host did not ask him for money or alter his treatment of Satyasaran in any way, but he himself began to feel ashamed of living on the old gentleman for such a length of time. He told everyone he knew, in the town, to find some sort of work for him. But he soon understood that it was no easy job he had given them. He was a rich man's son and had never learnt the art of sycophancy or bribery so no job awaited him. He grew tired of eating another man's bread.

But even that opportunity did not last long. Biswanath Babu was called home, he had a grown-up daughter to marry off. He called Satyasaran and asked, "Where do you want to go? It will be sometime, before I am back."

"I shall find a seat in some mess," Satyasaran replied.

"I know about half a dozen messes," Biswanath said, "I shall see if I can find out a decent place for you. The cooking must be a bit good, and the flat roomy. But anyway, you must be prepared to rough it, there's no other way."

He soon found a place for Satyasaran to live in. But the poor young man was extremely uncomfortable in his new home. He had been accustomed to have a suit of rooms, a servant and a motor car to himself. Now he had to live in a small room, with three or four strangers. He had to dress here and to sleep here. The personal habits of most of his fellow-lodgers were repulsive to him, besides the flat was very untidy and dirty owing to the negligence of the servant. At first sight, everything seemed so utterly hopeless to him, that he nearly turned tail and fled. But better reason supervening, he sat down in a chair, trying to pacify himself.

In the evening he went out after refusing his tea. His feet carried him along, almost unconsciously, to the turning of—th street. Kanakamma was seen, as usual, walking

about with her small charge. As Satyasaran came near her, he noticed that the girl had grown very thin, her eyes appeared unnaturally large in her emaciated face.

Before she could speak, Satyasaran asked her, whether she was all right and whether her employers were treating her well.

"Yes sir," she replied, "The mistress is very kind, but my heart feels heavy within me."

Satyasaran did not know, what reply to make to this. He stood silent for a few minutes, then left, after having told her, his new address. He also told her to communicate with him, if she wanted anything.

Two or three months passed away, but Satyasaran's position did not change. People advised him to take up some kind of business. But where was the capital? He had only a few hundred rupees with him. Nothing much would be left to finance any kind of business, after he had taken enough from it to meet his own requirements. The few gentlemen, with whom Satyasaran had come to live, were quite intimate with Biswanath Babu. He had requested the manager not to press Satyasaran for money, till the youngman got some kind of job. He had assured them again and again that they won't lose a penny by it. But, though Satyasaran did not have to pay for his board and lodging the money in his trunk steadily dwindled. He had not learnt the art of doing without everything, and there were some expenses he could not but incur, in order to keep his self-respect.

But his health began to fail. He became dispirited and gloomy. He could have returned to Calcutta, but no better fate awaited him there. Saroja was in very poor health and her husband prescribed a trip to Switzerland for her. He did not believe Indian doctors would be good enough for a girl, whose family could show four deaths within twenty-four hours.

Sunday was a day of rest for all the members of the lodging-house. Everybody got up rather late. The Babus returned very late at Saturday night, after visiting cinemas or theatres or card parties and so made up for it, by sleeping till ten o'clock next morning. The servant, too, was in no hurry to get up as he had not to serve tea early.

But one Sunday, all had to get up earlier than on weak days. The servant was the first to wake up and his unearthly yell

drove sleep out of that quarter. Everyone jumped out of bed in alarm to find all the trunks gone and the back window wide open.

It was quite evident, what had happened. The neighbours, the passers-by and even the police soon made their appearance on the scene. The poor servant got the first dose of their fury, but it was soon evident after a few questions had been put to him, that he was in no way to blame. He had served supper to the boarders at twelve last night, and then had gone to sleep. He had left the Babus still talking and cracking jokes amongst themselves. The door between the bedrooms and the kitchen remained shut always, so he could not have gone in again and opened the window for thieves to come in. Probably the gentlemen had been too tired to shut it at all and had fallen asleep leaving it open.

Most of the stolen goods and the trunks with their locks broken, were soon salvaged from the back lane. Some costly clothing were missing. And needless to say, the packet of currency notes in Satyasaran's trunk was completely missing. The other youngmen never kept much money with them, so their losses were nothing compared to his.

The day passed off somehow amidst hopeless gloom. This last stroke of misfortune seemed to shrivel up his heart. He took nothing but water, the whole day. The other members of the lodging-house ate and drank as usual, and went out to look after their own affairs.

Satyasaran had become worse than a beggar now. A beggar could at least ask charity of others, but he could not do even that. Death seemed preferable to him. He had no friends or relatives here or elsewhere, who would help him with five rupees.

In the evening, he went out, being unable to bear the stuffy atmosphere of the flat any more. He walked about aimlessly till it became quite dark. But he did not feel the least inclination to return home. "I shall go and look up Kanakamma," he thought "she is another unfortunate."

It was quite late, and Kanakamma was no longer to be seen in the lane, she had gone in with her charge. Satyasaran went up to the flat and asked for her. The master of the house was absent and a boy of eight or ten years of age went and called Kanakamma at his request.

As soon as she entered, "Are you unwell, Babu?" she asked.

Satyasaran replied in the affirmative and also told her the reason of his not being well.

He could derive no benefit thereby, yet he could not help telling her. Though he had no friends or relatives here, yet he had many fellow countrymen. Yet this girl from a far off province, who spoke an alien language, seemed much nearer and dearer to him, than those persons.

"What will you do now, sir?" the girl asked after a while.

Satyasaran had not decided. He told her so. Then he took his leave, as it would not look well, if he stayed too long, talking to the ayah.

Next day he noticed a change in the manners of his fellow boarders. He had been here, nearly three months, but had not yet paid anything for his board and lodging. Up to this, nobody had taken any exceptions to that, and he had been treated as courteously as a guest. But now everything began to change. A man, who had got money in his cash-box might be excused and even be treated politely even if he did not pay punctually. But one, whose coffers are known to be empty, had no claim upon anybody's forbearance or courtesy. So Satyasaran met with neglect first of all, and then even insults made their appearance.

His tea now had no sugar, or if there was sugar, there was no milk. While others got good helpings of the fish curry only a bit of its tail would be left for him. Nobody would wash his cast-off clothes and his bed would remain unmade for days.

He began to feel as if he was in a prison. Where was he to go, to whom was he to turn for help? He nearly went crazy with continual thinking.

One evening, he pushed away his cup of cold sugarless tea, after one sip. The manager was heard to remark from the next room upon this. People, he said, who lived upon charity, should not be too fastidious, and above all, they should not waste.

He sat for a while, as if stunned, then telling the servant not to cook for him in the evening, he went out. He had scarcely eaten anything for his breakfast, but he was too utterly sick at heart, to remember this.

He had no money to spend on rickshaws. So after two or three hours' continuous walking about, he began to look about for a place

to rest in. Almost unconsciously, he arrived at the entrance of—th street. Kanakamma was walking about, holding a small child by the arm. She advanced to meet him, and asked solicitously after his health.

Satyasaran replied that he was all right. Kanakamma did not believe him. In fact it was impossible to believe him, if one looked closely at his face. The girl asked again, whether he had taken anything. This time, he told her the truth. His legs were shaking, owing to exhaustion and want of food. "Come sir, let us go in," the girl said, "You can rest a bit then".

Satyasaran held back. What would her master think, if he went in? He did not know them very well. Kanakamma replied that everybody had gone out, only the small children were left in her charge.

Satyasaran felt too tired to argue further. He followed her in obediently and sat down. Leaving one of the children to keep him company, Kanakamma went to the inner room, with the smaller child. Satyasaran made no attempt at conversation with the child, but sat, dumb with misery.

The girl returned after a while, carrying a plate full of food. She had probably bought them from some eating shop, near by. She had also brought tea. Placing all these before him, she said, "Eat now, Babu".

Satyasaran was in real need of food, yet before he began, he asked her how she had procured them. She had bought them with her own money, the girl replied. Satyasaran then fell to, without further demur.

As he was preparing to leave, after finishing his dinner, Kanakamma told him to come again on the morrow. She would keep food ready for him. Satyasaran hesitated. Perhaps her employers would be angry with her, if she brought him in everyday like this. Kanakamma said that the mistress was a very good woman, and she would not mind at all. Besides, she was spending her own money and they had nothing whatever to do with it. Satyasaran accepted her invitation gladly, as he was heartily sick of the food at the lodging-house which was now being thrown to him as if he were a dog.

As soon as he returned, he saw that he had done well. The manager had given him seven days' notice. He must, of course, pay them one hundred rupees, on account of his board and lodging. Else his personal belongings would be attached. These, of course, would not fetch more than ten or

twelve rupees, the manager took care to inform him.

Satyasaran escaped out of the flat, as if it was on fire. He did not return, even to sleep, but walked about the whole night. He rested at roadside shops, or on park premises.

In the morning, he returned for a change of clothing and to have a bath. The Babus had just finished tea. Nobody asked him to have a cup, and he did not dare to ask for it. The manager came and asked, "What about the bill, sir?"

"I am trying to raise some money," Satyasaran said.

"Yes, try your best," the manager said. "Don't make us walk the court," with that he left.

Satyasaran's brain began to feel paralysed. What a trick of fate! Many a time, he had thrown away one hundred rupees on beggars, and here he was now, on the way to the civil jail, because he could not pay that sum to his creditors.

Kanakamma was amazed to see his face, when he turned up at her place in the afternoon. Without asking any questions she rushed to bring him food. After he had finished eating she asked him whether he had been able to procure the money.

Satyasaran replied in the negative. Nobody here, would lend him any money. "Write home", the girl advised.

"There's nobody in my home now", he replied.

Kanakamma asked whether the other Babus were going to turn him out, if he could not pay.

Satyasaran told her the bitter truth. What was the use of hiding it? After a while, he got up and left. He was afraid that the girl might incur the displeasure of her employers, on his account. Kanakamma followed him to the door. "Don't be afraid, sir," she whispered. "You have helped the unfortunate and God will help you."

Satyasaran had very little faith left in the mercy of God. He smiled bitterly and went down to walk the streets again. Very late at night, he returned home and slept the sleep of utter exhaustion on his dirty unmade bed.

He used to sleep in the outer room. Towards the small hours of the morning, he heard somebody knocking at the door. He went and opened the door to find Kanakamma standing there.

Before he could speak, the girl thrust a packet of currency notes into his hand, saying, "Take this, sir. Pay your creditors, then go home. Don't stay in this wicked country."

Satyasaran was dumb with amazement. How on earth had this girl procured so much money, within such a short time?

"Where did you get these?" he asked Kanakamma.

She thought for a moment. Then in her broken Hindi, she related to him the history of the money. She had sold herself to that fat rascal, her former admirer, for this money. To-morrow she would have to go to him.

Tears dropped from Satyasaran's eyes. He tried to thrust the money back into her hand, saying, "Take them back I cannot [accept your blood-money]."

She refused to take it back. She began to descend the stairs, saying, "God will look after me, sir. Don't grieve over me."

Leaving Satyasaran, standing like one paralysed, she disappeared in the half-light of the approaching dawn. For several seconds, he could not decide what to do. Then he rushed down the stairs and into the street. But finding it quite deserted, he came back again. Addressing the invisible he cried out aloud, "I accept your sacrifice to-day, in order to save myself. But I am saving myself only for you. The day will come, when I shall bring you back from hell, by the sacrifice of that very life".

HOW PARLIAMENT GUARDS THE INTERESTS OF INDIA

BY DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

WE are often told with much assurance that the interests of the Indian people are safe, because they are carefully guarded by the British Parliament, especially by the House of Commons, that splendid group of 615 men representing the best intelligence and character of the British Isles. Of course, such a body of men do not, will not, and cannot neglect so grave a responsibility, so important a part of the Empire, as India, or fail to see that the Indian people are ruled honorably, efficiently and justly.

This sounds assuring. But what are the facts? Does Parliament give careful attention to India, or watchfully guard her rights? Indeed, do the majority of the members of Parliament know anything more about India than a schoolboy, or pay any attention at all to Indian affairs, unless there is an insurrection or some other form of serious trouble there? How can they? India is so far away, and they are so overwhelmed with matters nearer home that must be attended to!

When, at the fag end of a Parliamentary session, a day is announced for discussion of Indian affairs, what happens? It is the signal for everybody to be absent who can possibly find an excuse.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in his book, "The Government of India" (pp. 43 and 51), says:

"It must be admitted that Parliament has not been a just and watchful steward of India. Its seats are empty when it has its annual saunter through the Indian Budget... Very few members of Parliament have any real knowledge of Indian affairs, and there is a deserted House of Commons when the Indian Budget is under consideration."

There lies before me, as I write, an extended report of the debate on India, in the House of Commons, July 17, 1927. According to the report, there were within call when the House was fullest 220 members; but never in the Chamber at any one time more than fifty; and the average attendance during the debate did not exceed twenty-five.

Writes Mr. Alfred Kinnear, M. P.

"I recall thirty Indian Budget nights in the House of Commons. Scarcely one of the number

drew an audience of fifty members—one-eleventh part of the membership. At a recent budget debate, when a matter of very great importance was up for discussion, there were present, by count, fourteen persons,—thirteen Liberals and one Tory. At another, there were twenty present, at another, there were three on the Tory side and one on the Liberal."

In a letter written from London by Mr. Lajpat Rai, under date of July 22, 1926, and published in *The People*, of Lahore, August 15, that eminent Indian publicist says:

"Nothing proves so forcibly the absurdity and the unreality of the British Parliament's control over the Indian government, as the spectacle of a debate on India in the House of Commons. I have attended several such debates on previous occasions, and last night I attended another. Before the Under-Secretary of State for India introduced the subject of India, the House was full and everything was lively, almost exciting, although there was nothing of any great importance on the tapis. But the moment the Under-Secretary for India got up, the House emptied. Soon the front benches were entirely unoccupied. Only a very few members remained. The whole scene was dull, cold and depressing. The speeches made were equally dull and uninteresting. There was no sign of life or interest anywhere."

Edward Thompson in his book, "The Other Side of the Medal" (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926, page 13) says:

"It has long been notorious, and a theme of savage comment by Indians, that the Indian Debate in the House of Commons has been regarded with indifference by the few who attended and with contempt by the many who stayed away. Sir Henry Fowler's noble appeal some years ago that every member should consider himself a member for India, since India was disfranchised in the assembly that controlled her destinies, won a spectacular triumph when made; but it has been forgotten. Two years ago, a Member of Parliament of twenty years' standing asked a friend of mine, 'What's happened to that fellow Gander—or some such name, who used to give us so much trouble?'—thus showing that it is possible for one to be a British Privy Councillor and yet be utterly ignorant of the man in India who is our greatest British contemporary."

At a large meeting of the British Labor Party held in the University Institute, London, in January, 1926, Major Graham Pole, M. P. described the interest, or rather the complete lack of interest, the British Parliament (that "sleepless guardian of India's

interests") habitually shows whenever Indian affairs come before it for consideration. He declared that whenever "India Day" arrives and the Indian Budget is discussed there is almost invariably a "thin House of Commons, only barely enough members being present to form a quorum, and the few who remain for the most part spend their time in snoring while the Secretary of State for India makes his stereotyped annual statement," and that only when some "crisis" arises, like the "agitation caused by the Partition of Bengal, accompanied by boycott and bombs," or some "extraordinary condition of things threatening the loss of India or a disturbance of English investments," do the great majority of the House show any more interest in India, or the three hundred twenty millions of its people, for whom Parliament is supposed to be the responsible guardians, than if India were a province of the moon.

Let a single other fact of a different nature be cited, which shows in a tragic manner how closely in touch with Indian affairs the British Parliament is. On the 19th of April, 1919, the shocking massacre of Amritsar took place, in which British soldiers under command of a British general attacked a peaceful religious assembly in a public park, and shot down in cold blood, killing or wounding more than 1,000 unarmed men, women and children. Did the British Parliament the very next day ring with hot protest and condemnation of the horrible transaction? Not exactly! It was more than seven months before the matter was even mentioned in Parliament. More amazing than that! Can it be believed? More than seven months elapsed after the horrible deed was done before Parliament *even knew what has happened!* This makes entirely clear how well Parliament guards and watches over and protects India.

Let no one understand the above facts and contentions as indicating on the part of the writer any want of respect toward the British Parliament (the House of Commons), which he holds in high esteem and honor. He believes that there is in the world no abler legislative body, and none more conscientious in the discharge of what it conceives to be its duties.

But (and here is the point not to be overlooked), even the British Parliament cannot perform the impossible, and should not be required to try. Its members have moun-

tains of responsibilities to carry entirely aside from India. Why should those of India be added? With the Scotch members charged with the duty of guarding the interests of Scotland, and the Welsh members the interests of Wales, and the members representing the counties and cities of England the interests of all these, and then, beyond the home countries, a great world-wide Empire entirely apart from India,—with all these pressing matters to look after and all these heavy responsibilities to discharge, what time or strength can this body of men have left, to make themselves intelligent about, and therefore be able to superintend with any knowledge or justice at all, the political economic affairs of the vast Indian sub-continent, with a population equal to that of all Europe outside of Russia?

The blame to be put upon these heavily-burdened men is not because they fall asleep or go out of the House for a little needed rest when the time comes for discussing India—a subject so far away, so difficult, so enormous, and of which they know, and, in the very nature of the case, can know, almost nothing. The cause for blame is much deeper.

The guilt (in the eyes of a just God and of just men it is *guilt*, and heavy too) which rests upon Parliament and upon the whole British nation, is that of the *Indian situation itself*.—is that of *seizing the government of India, wresting it out of the hands of the Indian people where it rightly belongs, placing the stupendous task of carrying it on, in the hands of distant, ignorant, over-burdened foreigners, who can no more discharge their enormous responsibilities intelligently and justly than the sun can rise in the west.*

About the middle of the last century, Mr. John Dickinson declared in his book, "Government in India Under a Bureaucracy," page 136 (1853):

"Since India has come under British rule her cup of grief has been filled to the brim, ay, it has been full and running over. The unfortunate Indian people have had their rights of property confiscated; their claims on justice and humanity trampled under foot; their manufacturers, towns, and agriculturists beggared; their excellent municipal institutions broken up; their judicial security taken away; their morality corrupted; and even their religious customs violated, by what are conventionally called the 'blessings of British rule'.....Parliament eases its conscience regarding these tyrannies and wrongs in India by exhorting those that govern there to govern pater-

nally, just as Issac Walton exhorts his angler, in hooking a worm, to handle him as if 'he loved him.'"

Such is affirmed by an English historian to have been British rule in India at the middle of the last century. The Indian people declare that there has been little or no real improvement since. A few more offices or salaried positions are grudgingly assigned them; but they are given no more power or authority in the management of the Government of their own country, and their treatment by the British officials is actually more baughty and more humiliating than it was when John Dickinson wrote. As to Parliament, it is widely claimed by those who have fullest knowledge of the past and the present that this British legislative body actually knows less about India to-day and takes less interest in its affairs than at any time in the past.

Ramsay MacDonald says there is actually less Parliamentary control of the Indian administration now than there was in the days of the East India Company.*

It should not for a moment be forgotten that the extremely conservative House of Lords is a part of Parliament, that it is less intelligent concerning India than even the House of Commons, that it is constantly and notoriously opposed to liberal measures for India and favourable to those that are oppressive, that it openly sympathized with the ultra-tyrannical Rowlett Acts of 1919 and that it actually defended and commended General Dyer for his horrible Amritsar massacre. Think of claiming before the world that such a body, which has to some degree veto power over legislation by the House of Commons, is a careful guardian of the interests of the Indian people!

One cause alone, even if there were no other, makes it absolutely impossible, in the very nature of the case, for the British Parliament to guard the interests of India with even an approximation of wisdom and justice. I refer to the fact that Parliament contains not a single representative of India.

Suppose New York or Massachusetts, or Michigan, or Louisiana, or California were allowed to send no representatives to the United States Congress in Washington, could such a wholly unrepresented State depend upon having its interests properly guarded? Suppose London, or Lancashire or Yorkshire

or Wales or Scotland were not allowed to send a single representative to the British Parliament, could any one of those great constituencies be convinced that its interests would be safe?

How then about India?—a nation in a far distant part of the earth, which has a population nearly three times as great as that of the entire United States and more than seven times as numerous as that of the British Isles, and of whose languages, customs, civilization and needs, the British Parliament is almost absolutely ignorant.

It is astonishing how little knowledge of India seems to be possessed by many of even the most eminent members of Parliament. It is the commonest thing to find distinguished members of both Houses condescendingly referring to the Indian people as if they had no culture and no civilization. I find even Mr. Balfour, who is accounted a man of exceptional intelligence, actually insulting the Indian people by writing and speaking of them, not once, but again and again, and habitually, as if they were barbarians requiring to be civilized by Britain.

Is it anything less than lunacy to believe that an English legislative body, many of whose most conspicuous leaders are so ignorant of India, and which does not contain a single representative of that great and distant nation, can intelligently and justly guard its interests,—even if we assume every legislator to be actuated by the most generous, honorable and altruistic motives?

Is it said that India does have one representative, if not in the British Parliament, at least in the British government in London, and near enough to Parliament so that his voice may occasionally be heard there? I mean the Secretary of State for India.

The reply is clear. Even if we grant that this official is a representative of India, what is *one*, under such conditions? *hundred* would be utterly *inadequate* to represent a country so enormous as India, and interests so vast as hers. But it is not true that in the Secretary of State India has even one representative. That eminent official is not an Indian but an Englishman. He may never have been in India; probably he has not. Very likely he does not know a single Indian language. Most Secretaries of State do not. Furthermore, (what is vital), he is not chosen by India, but by England; therefore, he is not India's representative &

* "The Awakening of India," p. 265.

all, but England's. He never is, or can be, anything more than a make-believe representative of India, because he is not appointed or even credentialed by the Indian people; just as no man can be a real representative of a business firm or corporation who is not chosen or appointed or credentialed by that business firm or corporation. To be sure, he is one of the men who dominate and control the Indian people, but that is not because he is their representative, or has any right to control them, but because he is their master, put over them by Britain, without their having any part in the matter.

Is it said that even if Parliament fails, the English people themselves will not fail? They are a great liberty loving and just nation, and may be depended on in some way, through Parliament or otherwise, to see to it that India's interests are carefully protected.

Mr. H. W. Nevinnson, the eminent English publicist, who knows both England and India as well as any man, answers with the question :

"How many persons in England know anything about India, or can afford time to think about her? I doubt if one per cent. of the British people gives to India a thought from year's end to year's end."

Dr. V. H. Rutherford, M. P., says the British people "are never even consulted" about Indian affairs.*

The truth is the whole claim or idea, so widely entertained in the world, that in the British Parliament the Indian people have an intelligent, careful ever-solicitous and safe-guardian of their rights and interests, is a pure fiction. There is not a fact to support it. *India has no such guardian; and she can have none until she becomes free and is therefore able to guard and protect herself.*

Said Thomas Jeffersons :

"The people of every country are the only safe-guardians of their own rights."

[*This article is a chapter of the author's forthcoming work, "India's Case for Freedom."*]

* "Modern India : Its Problems and Their Solution." Introduction, p. xi. (1927).

POST-WAR REFORMS IN GERMAN SCHOOLS

By DURGAPRASANNA RAY CHAUDHURI PH. D. (GÖTTINGEN)

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BEFORE leaving Germany early in 1926, I had the privilege of visiting some Secondary Schools in Berlin and its neighbourhood during one whole winter with the kind permission of the Prussian Minister of Education. I had also visited a number of Primary Schools for boys and girls in Prussia and elsewhere, and attended teachers' Conferences and meetings of Students' Unions in connexion with Secondary Schools on several occasions. And, besides seeing the various classes of schools actually at work there, I had further interested myself in the theoretical side of the school reform movement initiated in Germany after the War, by reading a fairly comprehensive volume of literature on the subject. It is, therefore, hoped that the following pages

dealing with the salient features of this movement in Prussia, from which technicalities and minute details have been excluded as far as possible, may not be quite unwelcome to those who are interested in school-work in that country.

Before the new regulations came into force, the Secondary Schools in Prussia used principally to supply to the various Universities and technical Colleges recruits for those of the higher professions which presupposed a university education. But according to the new regulations, even would-be primary school teachers have got to pass the final examination of a Secondary School, before they can join one of the three pedagogical academies that have recently been set up for their professional training. The

Secondary Schools have thus got the whole burden of public instruction in the land thrown on their shoulders.

The new ministerial regulations comprise all the higher schools within one single system complete in itself. They go under the general name of "unity schools," because they are all run on the same principles. The lower forms of the "unity school" constitute the so-called elementary Ground School, where the child has to stay for four years and from where he may afterwards go to a higher or a middle school. Again, the child may also begin direct in an elementary school, of which the first four years are identical with the ground school; and, after staying there for seven years, he may go on to a higher or Secondary School. Thus we see that in this system the elementary schools, the secondary schools and the university are all organically united.

Five pivotal subjects are common to, and are compulsorily taught in, all kinds of secondary schools; and, as a rule, the greatest attention is focussed on them. By this means it is sought to maintain the unity of German culture. These common subjects which form the nucleus of instruction in all secondary schools help to unite these amongst themselves on the one hand, and to link them with the elementary schools on the other.

In addition to teaching these common subjects, the various kinds of secondary schools have also got to make special arrangements for those other subjects that distinguish them one from another.

The school curriculum is drawn up from year to year by the teachers' union concerned in the light of the directions received from the authorities. But there is no absolute standard for this. In drawing up the curriculum for any particular year, the special tastes and capacities of the teachers as well as of their pupils are always taken into consideration. What cannot be got through in one year is left over for the next.

The great aim of all instruction in German schools is to inculcate upon the minds of the pupils the traditions of German culture. This purpose is mainly served by the five subjects referred to above. They are: Religion, German, Civic Rights, History and Geography. Equally compulsory for all schools are also Physical Exercise and the following art-subjects, e. g. Music, Drawing and Aesthetics.

The instruction that is imparted is required

to be fairly comprehensive, undue stress on any particular subject being avoided as far as possible. Nevertheless concentration on any one problem with a view to its satisfactory solution is also encouraged. And an ideal goal for this purpose is furnished by the traditions of German culture, which are the same for all schools. But the different kinds of secondary schools aim at different results, and the grouping of their subjects also is consequently different in essentials, as also are the problems on which they each of them concentrate. This variegated character of the Secondary Schools therefore makes it imperative that it should be carefully considered as to how the principle of concentration may be in each individual case suitably adapted. Since a good comprehensive education aims at a harmonious development of the personality of the pupil, it necessarily includes education on national lines, civic rights, development of the aesthetic tastes and of philosophical insight. All these things go beyond the scope of special individual subjects and yet do not interfere with the legitimate function of any of them. An attempt to divide the subjects into a number of watertight compartments and then to supply ideas that run counter to each other through the teachers of the various subjects separately, defeats the end of all instruction, burdens the soul of the student, and weakens the unity of will and purpose in the teachers.

As a matter of fact, the most outstanding things about the post-war reforms in German Schools are:—(1) the emphasis that is laid upon the principle of concentration, (2) the introduction of practical lessons, and (3) the place given to manual skill as a means of acquiring intellectual knowledge. And it is in pursuance of these very principles that the old preparatory school has been abolished and the ground-school established in its place (see below).

In drawing up the curriculum of any particular subject, the teachers who have been specially trained to teach that subject have got the decisive voice. All teachers taking a certain class in any given year have to meet and exchange opinions frequently, whilst teachers engaged on teaching the same subject in different classes at the same period make it a point to attend each other's lessons and then compare notes to the advantage of all concerned.

Every lesson that is given has to be "a

practical lesson". This simply means that the teacher must on no account look upon the mere transmission of stuff as the sole object of his lessons, but must always stop to consider what particular qualities of the student may be developed and strengthened by them. And special stress should be laid on the development of the power of independent judgment, feeling, imagination and will-force. One of the first principles of practical instruction is to look upon the whole class as a band of collaborators working together on a basis of give and take.

The duty of the teacher is simply to direct, and the scholars are expected to use their common sense in turning that guidance to account by taking up independent lines of work and investigation according to their respective tastes and capabilities. In the ministerial enactment upon this subject it is stated: "The first and the great task of practical instruction is to bridge the gulf which exists between the acquisition of definite knowledge (without which no higher intellectual work is possible) and the acquisition of the capacity for independent work (without which mere knowledge is fruitless)."

Manual skill, imagination, initiative, and the power of expression have to be promoted and encouraged by degrees by setting suitable tasks to be done at home and also by means of instructions imparted in the class. The scholars must be made to feel that they form a fellowship of workers and should even set tasks for themselves from time to time. The tasks which the scholars set themselves of their own accord, if properly guided, may be made to yield as useful and important results as the usual routing work gone through at school does. In order that such tasks may produce the maximum result, they must be done systematically. Even in primary schools children are to be encouraged to practise this wholesome exercise as far as practicable.

All the compulsory work to be done by the boys in the class must grow organically out of the lessons given by the teachers, and the idea is to make as many of these lessons as possible fruitful for all the scholars by thoroughly discussing them with the whole class.

Any written work done by the pupils in the class should be judged as a whole; and when an expression of opinion is made about it by the teacher in writing, its merits as

well as its defects should be pointed out. An expression of opinion in the shape of a mere mechanical enumeration of errors should be always avoided. Such dictionaries and reference books as are allowed for the preparation of written home-tasks, should also be allowed when an exercise is given to be done in the class.

In Secondary Schools consisting of nine classes, the students of the three top classes are permitted to go in for some optional subjects and also to take part in the work of the students' literary unions. But participation in the work of these unions is purely voluntary. There may be unions for all subjects, not even Philosophy being excluded. And it is the students themselves who choose which of these unions they are going to join. Two hours in the week are set apart for the work of each one of these unions; and its deliberations are conducted under the competent guidance of a trained teacher.

In addition to looking after these students' unions, the teachers have also got to attend conferences of their own, which, too, are held subject by subject. In these conferences they not only discuss the methods of instruction to be followed but also decide on the stuff to be taught. The curriculum of the whole school is also given a definite shape in these meetings. And teachers of the same subject are required to attend each other's lessons as hearers from time to time.

Then there are also associations of teachers who happen to teach the different subjects in one and the same class in any given year. These associations are very important. Apart from other considerations, a proper assessment of the merits of the students from the standpoint of all the subjects, individually and collectively, can only be made here. The teachers of these associations also have got to attend each other's classes as in the above case.

The school curriculum consists of the following subjects:—

A. For higher schools of all denominations.

1. Subjects that form the nucleus of all instruction, e.g., Religion, German, Civic Rights, History and Geography.

2. Art-subjects:—Music, Drawing and Aesthetics (also needle-work for girls).

3. Physical Exercise.

All these subjects under 1, 2 & 3 are compulsory for each individual pupil, male or female.

B. For different kinds of higher schools for boys, e.g.,

(i) *Gymnasium or Grammar School*:—*Latin, Greek, French, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Hebrew* (the last named being optional).

(ii) *Realgymnasium or German Secondary School* for modern languages. There are two types of this school.

The older type teaches:—*Latin, French, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Spanish* (the last one is optional).

And the reformed type teaches:—*French, Latin, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Spanish* (the last one being optional).

The difference between these two types of schools is that while the former teaches Latin for nine years, French for seven years, and English for six years, the latter teaches French for nine years, Latin for six years and English for four years only.

(iii) *Oberrealschule or German Secondary School* for the sciences: *French, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Latin and Spanish* (the last two being optional).

The schools under (iii) may at their option replace French or English by some other modern civilized language.

The new creations of the post-war reforms are:—

(iv) *Deutsche Oberschule or the German Upper School*, where Religion, German, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Drawing and Music are the compulsory subjects, which every scholar attending the school has got to study. Besides, the Science of Civic Rights, Aesthetics and introduction to Philosophy are to be taken up either as independent subjects or as ancillary to other subjects in the curriculum. Add to this two modern foreign languages which a scholar must read if he wants to take the leaving-certificate, although only one of them is taught as a compulsory subject at school. The characteristic subjects of the German Upper School are:—*History, Geography, and the foreign language for which the scholar enters first*.

(v) The *Aufbauschule or the Upbuilding School*, which has now taken the place of the defunct seminaries for training men and women teachers for elementary schools. The pupils of the Primary Schools also may take their leaving certificates from here. After

having put in seven years at primary schools, they may join the *Aufbauschule*, if found fit for it, where they will have to stay for six years more before they can take the school-leaving certificate. The *Aufbauschule* has the same object in view as the *Oberrealschule* or the *Deutsche Oberschule*.

The subjects italicised in the above paragraphs are the characteristic subjects (forming the distinguishing features) of the various schools concerned. It should be noted here that the study of all the languages is not taken up simultaneously by any scholar. And all instruction is, of course, imparted through the medium of German.

A German child has to go to school at the age of six. He spends four years at the so-called Ground-school and then goes on to one of the secondary schools, where he stays for nine years more; so that by the time he leaves school, he is nineteen years old (provided of course there has been no break in his studies).

Corresponding to the boys' schools there are also secondary schools for girls. Their general appellation is *Lyzeum* (a word of Greek origin which eventually came to mean a teaching-place). They have almost the same curriculum as the corresponding boys' schools; only they put in a lesser number of actual working hours at school on hygienic grounds, and supplement their usual course by such items as needle-work and house-wifery etc., which are so essential to women.

In these higher schools tuition fees are charged according to the following rates:—

Parents whose annual income does not exceed 2500 M. are charged no fees at all for the schooling of their children.

For an annual income of from 2500 3300 M. the monthly school fee is 7½ M. for the first child and 3¾ M. for the second child, while the other children are taught free.

Parents enjoying an annual income of from 3300-5000 M. have to pay 11¼ M. for the first child, and 7½ M. for the second child, and the rest are taught free.

For annual incomes above 5000 M. the rate is 15 M. for the first child, 11¼ M. for the second and 7½ M. for the third, the other children being allowed to read free of all charges.

Twenty German Marks are equivalent to one English pound.

These rates are for Berlin and its suburbs. Smaller towns and country districts charge

fees on a lower scale. But State Schools throughout the rest of Germany have nearly the same rates. In most primary schools there are arrangements for the free distribution of milk and hot breakfast to the children. In secondary schools such arrangements exist only for the poorer students. And I have seen warm milk being sold by the authorities of some secondary schools in Berlin to their poorer students during the pause between two lessons at less than the market price. Funds are supplied for this purpose either by the State or by the municipalities of the towns concerned, and occasionally donations are also received from rich people. In primary schools there are also arrangements for free warm baths (douche) for the poorer children, who have no such opportunities in their own homes.

The pre-war regulations for the school certificate examination (which is usually taken after a stay of nine years in the secondary school) had to be recast in conformity with the new ministerial enactments in regard to school reform. Personality and individual likings of the candidate in respect of the principal divisions of the examination must be taken into account. A remark on his religious creed may be entered in the leaving certificate only at the express request of the candidate. "The teachers of the top most class put together their opinion of each individual scholar. This statement of opinion should not only show the development of the intellectual powers and all the good and bad points in the character of the scholar, and through light upon his capacity for independent intellectual work, but should also contain, as a rule, all that is likely to be of any practical value in forming a correct estimate of him. In doing so, the development of tastes, the power of observation, the clearness of understanding, the inventive faculty, imagination, the power of judgment, the capacity for describing a thing, and so on are as much to be taken into account as his special talents and particular activities in the different spheres of life in and out of school, his share in the work of the students' organizations and the success attained therein, noteworthy achievements in sports and gymnastics, the extent of his participation in the youth movement and other things of a like nature. Furthermore, internal and external hindrances, domestic situation, pecuniary circumstances, the condition of health etc., are also to be considered,

should there be any occasion for doing so."

This detailed leaving certificate is a post-war institution. Before the Revolution of 1918 it used to consist of a few words only. But now, as we have seen above, it almost amounts to a short essay on the candidate in question.

The examination continues to be both oral and written as before. But to it is now added another examination in sports and gymnastics. Another departure from the old regulations is that a scholar, having failed once in the school certificate examination, may take his chance again after one year, and not after six months as heretofore. (The latest ministerial regulations to hand allow an unsuccessful candidate to take his examination again after six months also). Besides, the candidate may, under the new regulations, submit a thesis, which he has prepared at home in the course of the year on some phase or aspect of one of the subjects in which he is going to be examined, whereupon he will be exempted from the compulsory written examination in the same subject or in some kindred subject at his choice.

Compulsory written papers for *all* secondary schools for boys and girls are a German essay and Mathematics.

Add to this

(a) for Grammar Schools, two translation papers—one from Latin and the other from Greek—into German. Under the old regulations the candidates were required to translate from German into Latin, which was, of course, a more difficult task. Besides those who want to be examined in Hebrew have to translate into German a comparatively simple paragraph from the old Testament and write grammatical notes thereon.

(b) for Realgymnasiums or German Secondary Schools for modern languages, a French paper and an English paper. Here candidates are always given the option of substituting the English paper by a paper on translation only, from Latin or English into German.

(c) for Oberrealschule or German Secondary School for the sciences, a paper on one of the two modern foreign languages (French or English) according to the choice of the candidate and a paper on one of the natural sciences, e.g., Chemistry, Physics, or Biology, also at the candidate's choice. Before the War a candidate used to be examined in both

the foreign languages and Biology has been introduced since the Revolution only. Formerly a choice between the science subjects was not allowed to the candidate. The authorities used to choose for him.

(d) for Deutsche Oberschule or German Upper School, one paper on the modern foreign language, for which the scholar had enrolled himself first, and one paper either on History or Geography according to the choice of the candidate.

These examination rules for the secondary schools for boys hold good also for the corresponding secondary schools for girls.

When a candidate is taking a written examination at school, he is allowed the use of such reference books and dictionaries as are recommended for his use at home. In the essay paper on German the candidate is allowed the option of choosing one out of four topics, which are, as a rule, widely different in their scope. It is also a relief for the Grammar School students that instead of having to translate a German text into Latin, they are now required to translate from Latin into German, which is their mother-tongue. The scholars of the Oberealschule are now examined in one foreign language only. And the Latin paper is no longer compulsory for the scholars of the Realgymnasium.

For the oral examination the candidate may choose any one subject in which he expects to do well. The other subjects in which he is to be examined are determined by the board of examiners. Total exemption from the oral test is no longer allowed. Before the new regulations came into force, a scholar who had done very well in the written examination, did not have to take the oral test at all; while on the other hand, if he had done badly in the former, he would not be so much as allowed even to go in for the latter. Under the present system, however, even the scholar who has done badly in the written examination may take his chance at the oral test; and if he does equally badly here also, then he is declared bad for the whole examination. On the other hand, even the best scholar from the point of view of the written examination must take his oral test also. Of course, such a scholar is normally expected to do well here also, although he may not always show nearly to the best advantage at such a test. In that case the quality of his leaving certificate will suffer a little. With this certificate he may

go to the university or to a high technical college or even enter some suitable profession. In the event of his failing to obtain this certificate, he will have to seek re-admission to the same class and take his chance again after six months.

The ministerial directions recommend that the oral examination should be held chiefly in such subjects only as are likely to afford the candidate an opportunity to "display his special ability," and not in subjects in which he is likely to fare badly. Besides, every candidate should be examined orally in as few subjects as possible. And the oral examination should on no account consist of a mere string of isolated questions and answers; while a mere reproduction from memory of things that have been learnt by heart is to be sternly repressed. On the contrary, each student is to be called upon to speak on one or more topics in a connected and systematic way in the form of a discourse; and, in doing so, he should be given sufficient time to arrange his thoughts before he begins to speak. Briefly, the oral examination is to be a kind of lecture by the candidate on a subject or subjects in which he feels quite in his element.

THE MIDDLE SCHOOL

Upon the aims and conditions of the Middle School the Minister of Education remarks as follows:—

"The great developments in the domains of handicrafts, applied arts, trade and industry, agriculture, and forestry, naturally demand greater efficiency in the training of boys and girls for these avocations. Hence arises the necessity of making provision for a suitable training for sundry intermediate positions in the State, the municipalities and other private organizations, so as to meet the increased demands of trade and industry as influenced by these new developments.

"The elementary schools can meet these demands only to a very limited extent. And the Secondary Schools also cannot undertake to do this work adequately, because their principal function lies in the direction of scientific work.

"Thus arises the necessity for a kind of school that is to occupy something like an intermediate position between the elementary school on the one hand and the secondary school on the other.....Such an educational institution is supplied by the Middle

School, which is only a further development of the ground school and consists of six standards.By effecting the necessary alterations in the curriculum and by making simultaneous arrangements for imparting instruction in the different subjects of the Secondary Schools also, the Middle School may further be in a position to prepare students for the Secondary Schools as well without neglecting its own legitimate duties."

After having been at the Ground School for four years, the child comes to the Middle School, where he then stays for six years. Therefore, when a child does not go farther than the Middle School, he has been under instruction altogether for ten years. Here the child has to pay a school-fee of 5 Marks per month if the annual income of his parents is 5000 M. or more. The second child of the same parents is charged $3\frac{3}{4}$ M., the third $2\frac{1}{2}$ M. and the fourth is taught free of all charges. When the parents' income is M. 3300-5000 the first child pays $3\frac{3}{4}$ M., the second $2\frac{1}{2}$ M. and the others are taught free. For an income between M. 2500 and 3300, the first two children pay M. $2\frac{1}{2}$ and M. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively, while the rest go free. Parents whose incomes are under M. 2500 have to pay nothing for the education of their children. (20 Marks = £1). The State and the municipalities concerned pay for the children that are taught free in all the above cases.

In the Middle School, ordinarily one foreign language is taught as compulsory. But from the third or the fourth class onwards, the children may, if they so desire, take up another foreign language. French is the compulsory foreign language taught in most Middle Schools.

In the ministerial decree there are five different plans for the Middle School. Plan I. (which is the general curriculum for boys) contains, in addition to instructions in the elementary school-subjects and foreign languages, also courses in book-keeping, handicraft, gardening and shorthand (the last three subjects are also taught in Secondary Schools outside of their ordinary courses of study). This plan is of a piece with Plan III which is the general curriculum for girls. But here there is an additional course in house-keeping also. Plans II and IV supply courses of study for boys and girls with a special eye to their future calling.

The requirements of the first three classes of the Middle Schools are essentially identical in all the plans. In the first three

classes the subjects "trade, traffic and industry" are given some prominence in Plan II (for boys) and a course of type-writing is added to the curriculum. In plan IV (for girls) instead of instructions calculated to prepare scholars for industrial careers a course of training in hygiene (with special reference to nursing and child welfare) has been introduced. There is a course in housewifery also.

Plan V (i.e. curriculum for Middle Schools preparing scholars for Secondary Schools) omits altogether the subjects that are specially designed to provide for commercial teaching, house-keeping and humanitarian work generally.

It may be noted here that before the Revolution of 1918, there were only two kinds of Middle Schools, one for girls and the other for boys, instead of five as now; and only one foreign language used to be taught instead of two as at present. Much more stress is now laid upon those subjects that prepare a young man or woman for a practical career.

Concerning the methods of instruction, the Reforms demand here, as in all other cases, that the lessons should be practical ones and that the learners should be encouraged to concentrate on some definite goal from the very start. The schools should not be a party to the mere memorizing by the students of all sorts of undigested materials, but should try to assist the scholars to a practical understanding of the various sub-subjects and problems handled. It is, of course, obvious that on account of their young age and very limited intellectual capacity, the idea of concentration cannot be kept as much to the fore in the case of the Middle School children as in that of the higher classes of Secondary Schools. As elsewhere the teachers of Middle Schools meet in committees and conferences at regular intervals in order to discuss, deliberate and take their decisions on all matters relating to class-work.

After the War reductions in the teaching staff had to be effected for reasons of economy, and lessons in handwriting were done away with in consequence. Before the Revolution of 1918, lessons in handwriting were compulsory in all Secondary Schools from the sexta up to the quarta, that is to say, for three years (see below). The number of hours for Latin has also been curtailed in

some Secondary Schools on the same ground of economy.

There are also some higher secondary schools, which do not lead up to the school certificate examination, and cannot, therefore, qualify students for the university or the high technical colleges, but give them a training for subordinate ministerial positions only. These schools have got a nine year course; that is to say, the pupils are taught here up to the standard of the fourth class (counting from the top) of a regular secondary school. So a student on leaving a secondary school of this incomplete type, may go over to a regular secondary school and stay there for four years more, when he will be eligible for entrance into the University or the high technical colleges.

The classes of a German Secondary School are:—Sexta (6), Quinta (5), Quarta (4), Untertertia (junior 3), Obertertia (senior 3), Untersekunda (junior 2), Obersekunda (senior 2), Unterprima (junior 1), Oberprima (senior 1).

In Germany a child goes to school at six and puts in four years at the Ground School and nine years at the Secondary School. So that by the time he has taken the school certificate examination, of course, in the usual course without any break in his career, he is exactly nineteen years old. Before the Revolution he could leave school at eighteen, because Prussia had then a kind of preparatory school with a three-year course in place of the Ground School of to day.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

The Primary School has got eight classes. No fees are charged. A child begins to attend the Primary School when he is six years old. The first four years form the so-called Ground School, *which every child must attend*, unless he is physically unfit. The Ground School is thus the first school which every child has got to attend and which is, of course, the same for all children irrespective of their birth and social standing. The child who takes the full course of a primary school is fourteen when he leaves it. But he may also leave it at the age of ten, and go to the Secondary School or to the Middle School.

It is of supreme importance that here also the children must not learn mechanically but should be made to feel the spirit of their lessons and digest and make their own by

means of practical illustrations whatever work they might do under the guidance of the teachers.

The idiom which the child daily hears in his home should not be altogether ignored by the teachers of the primary school. Games, practical observations of nature and manual activities (e. g. forming figures in plasticine or clay, putting together of small sticks or rods, making coloured drawing, carving etc.) should be resorted to by way of illustrating the lessons and stimulating the child's interest in them.

The subjects in which instructions are given in the Ground School are Religion, Geography of the child's home district, German language, Arithmetic, Drawing, Music and Gymnastics, and for the girls, during the last two years of their Ground School life, needle-work also.

When the child first comes to school, all these subjects are not taken up one after another in keeping with any cut and dried time-table, but he is always treated to a comprehensive lesson covering all of them rather freely. And the aim of the first course of lessons is to give the child some definite ideas and informations about his own country. Absolutely no home-tasks are set to the child at this stage.

The last four years of the Primary School are devoted to preparing apprentices for an active practical life and for the professional schools. Simultaneously arrangements are also made for giving the necessary training to those who may prefer to go up to the Aufbauschule (see above).

Here also the teachers strictly follow the fundamental principles of practical teaching. The employment of the hand is very important on the part of the pupils. Sketches, drawings, educational appliances etc., (especially those necessary for elucidating the idea of vacuum and teaching geography and the natural sciences) are provided, made directly by the pupils, who are also encouraged to conduct independent experiments in the natural sciences and to make their own collections of interesting materials relating to the science subjects they study. Animals and plants are collected and carefully studied in terrariums, aquariums, insectariums and school-gardens. Lessons are given on the handicrafts, needle-work and on house-keeping. During excursions which must take place periodically under the new ministerial re-

gulations, sketchmaps are drawn by the pupils of the landscapes that are visited and experiments are made in the measurement of distances by conjecture. Agricultural farms and workshops are also visited as often as practicable.

The subjects of instruction are religion (occasionally biography), German, History and Civic rights, Geography, natural sciences, Arithmetic, Space, Drawing, Music and Gymnastics; and for the girls also needlework.

A DUTCH CRITICISM OF MISS MAYO

[Reviewing the Dutch translation of Miss Mayo's book "Mother India" Henriette Roland Holst—van der Schalk, a Dutch poet and probably one of the greatest poets living—writes as follows in "Recht an Vryheid" (Right and Freedom), the paper of the Dutch section of the "League against Imperialism and Colonial Oppression"]

"WESTERN PRIDE"

A Dutch translation of "Mother India", Miss Mayo's much discussed work, by J. de Gruyter, has been published lately. This book will, no doubt, by its more or less sensational character find many readers, also in our country.

For that reason we want to say something about it here, because it is an extremely dangerous book. It is a book full of pride's poison. It cajoles and flatters the belief of the ruling classes of the Western countries in their superiority over the East—the superiority that puts upon them the "duty" to act as the "tutors" of these "minor children," as they have to be "educated" for "self-government, etc. The "White Man's Burden" isn't it?

In itself there is nothing against Miss Mayo's drawing attention to certain social evils existing in continental India. The worst of these all is child-marriage, with its consequence of sexual overstimulation, of great sorrow in body and soul for the far too young mothers, and of early exhaustion and weakening of the race. Further the author illustrates with many examples how the population sins against the most elementary ideas of hygiene, for which again the women are the worst sufferers. She also calls our attention to the religious intolerance leading to repeated fights between Hindus and Muslims; to the unbearable hindrances put in the way of social development by the caste-system and the negation of humanity

which is its consequence; and lastly to the hardness and cruelty with which animals are treated, specially the "holy cow," which in spite of its holiness often is left to a slow death of starvation.

Nobody will think of denying that these evils are terrible, and if a stream of love for the peoples of India ran through the book of Miss Mayo, love for the victims of delusion, stereotyped thought, and social oppression—women pariahs, the brutes—if the spirit of the book were one of raising the Indians of all creed, rank and caste to combine and labour, and fight the deep-rooted evils of their society—in that case Miss Mayo really would have done a good deed in writing "Mother India."

The spirit of Western pride, however, emanating from it, the spirit of contempt for the entire civilisation of the East speaking from every page—based only on the impotence of understanding the principle, the root and essence of that culture—that spirit spoils what is good in Miss Mayo's book, and utterly destroys the eventual good results it could have led to if the case had been different.

I will not try to answer the question here if the picture the author draws of the Indian society is quite correct. One hardly can doubt that the facts she quotes are true. It is, however, possible that she greatly exaggerates the range of these facts. It is also possible that some, or all evils, which she describes, only occur amongst certain castes or in some parts of the country. It is also possible that from the side of the indigenous population more energy is put in the fight against them than we could learn of from her description. In all these cases the impression created by her book would be a false one, even if the

fact she mentions are correct in themselves. I will have to leave it to more competent judges if the one or the other be the case.

What I only want to do here is to show why all champions for right and freedom, for self-management and self-government of the Asiatic peoples, have to feel the spirit of this book as being THOROUGHLY hostile to their efforts.

Firstly : In the book Miss Mayo enthrones the modern hygiene as the only deity we all have to worship. To the commands of this deity everything must be sacrificed, the entire spiritual beauty and spiritual grandeur of a world-conception and a view of life, which for centuries and centuries have reconciled millions with their own difficult, hard existence, and taught them to find a sense in life in general, taught them to feel themselves as a part of the Absolute.

When Miss Mayo, shuddering with disgust, tells us about many customs of the pious Hindus,—repulsive to our feeling (so for instance, going barefooted through filthy mud, and drinking very polluted water) she does not think for one second, that the thought of *bodily pollution* does not even occur to the pious Hindu, as he is entirely pervaded by the idea of *spiritual purification* which is for him the meaning of bathing in the Ganges, the "holy stream."

This single instance illustrates the whole antithesis between the naturalistic—materialistic conception of—and attitude towards life in the West, and the supernatural, spiritual conception of the East. The former leads in its last consequence to the worship of the bath-tub, tooth-brush and filter; the latter, also in its last consequence, to the absolute neglect of the demands of the body.

Here lies a widespread problem, the problem of a great shortcoming, as well in the East as in the West—the crooked growth and one-sidedness of both Western and Indian civilisation.

For Miss Mayo and her consorts, however, these problems do not exist even; they have no other idea of culture than filter, bath-tub and tooth-brush.

Secondly : The perception which Miss Mayo hammers into her readers is, politically, absolutely reactionary, that is to say, in favour of imperialism. Whatever good there is in India has been brought by the English. The English are making untiring efforts to bring about enlightenment, culture, democracy and humanity. Whatever is

wrong, comes from the Indians themselves, their sloth, their egotism, their indifference, their mentality unchangingly running in fixed grooves. It is nonsense to give self-government to the peoples of India; what they need is, on the contrary, being put under much more severe domination—only English rule can help India; "English interference as much as possible" should therefore be the slogan.

Miss Mayo has never heard, apparently, of the purifying, regenerating, energy-stimulating power of national freedom. The thought that the progressive powers of Eastern society at this stage of Asia's awakening are mainly focussed on making an end to the evil and shame of foreign domination; that these powers, when once the great aim of the nationalistic movement will be reached, will be at the disposal for other not less important ends—the self-development and self-regeneration of the indigenous world—this thought never seems to have struck the author of "Mother India." Not more than the idea that nations and classes can be educated to the realisation of responsibility only in and through freedom.

Worst of all, however, is the boundless pride of which the book bears witness, the spirit of self-contentedness and pharismism. Constantly one hears the author sighing, beating her breast, "O Lord, I thank Thee that we in the West are not like these—that we have no child-marriages, and no superstition in the purifying working of the excrements of the cow, and no murder and killing in the name of faith, and no starving cows and calves. O Lord, how good we are, and how hygienic and how enlightened. Thank Thee that we are not like these."

That "we" in America, however, have the justice of lynching, and the electrocutions, and the race-prejudice against the Negroes in its crudest form, and the unchecked child-labour in the workshops, and the extension of imperialism through force of arms, and its maintenance through oppression and the "trial in the third degree" and the torture of political criminals—all these things do not come to our mind for one second. So much the better, otherwise that loud tone of high-handed authoritative-ness would soon come to an end. And whosoever wants to enjoy the reading of "Mother India" in the full consciousness of his superiority—here in the enlightened civilised Netherlands, where no end of work

is done for hygiene, social provision, and improvement of social standard he will do wise not to think about the village of the "inadmissibles" under the smoke of Amsterdam (Do not inadmissible and untouchable have some affinity of sound?) and about the thousands of slums in the capital, the "traps" of the *souteneurs* in Rotterdam, the hidden darknesses of the practice of abortion and the terrors of vivisection, done by specialists, hardened by countless experiments. He should not think about the vegetative existence of the tens of thousands

of unemployed, the starvation of the children in Drente, the transport of beef-cattle, and about many other unsavoury sides of our "civilisation."

Above all, however, let him never think about the aimless, senseless toil through the desert, into which the existence of millions of workmen has developed, without philosophical, religious or social ideas. The desert in which the only oases consist in the coarsest form of sensual pleasure and sport, and the dope through dance or the sensational film.

LORD OXFORD : MAN OF AFFAIRS AS MAN OF LETTERS

BY PROF. DIWAN CHAND HARMA, M.A.

I

NO one has done more than Lord Morley to combat the heresy that a man of letters cannot be a man of affairs. It has now been established beyond doubt that a predilection for literature does not unfit a man for participation in active affairs. On the other hand, we find that men who have a bent for literature and fine arts are taking an active interest in shaping the destinies of their countries. Dr. Hauptmann's name was proposed some time ago for the Presidency of the German Republic, and Paderewski has ever been the moving spirit in his country. People who trot out such preposterous statements are, in fact, those who have never come under the soothing and refining influence of literature themselves. They have as remote an idea of the *belles-lettres* as a blind man of the elephant. Literature is, indeed, a great force and its devotees are free of all departments of life. Its blessings are especially of an incalculable importance to a man who has to pass his days in *Romuli facie*. Literature enlarges a man's sympathies, gives him a breadth of outlook, adds polish and grace to his utterances, and nourishes in him the temper of admiration, hope, and love by which alone we live. A man who cultivates a love of it always finds in it his consolation and inspiration. If he

meets with difficulties, he learns to grapple with them; and if he does not find the need of his efforts, he learns to despise it.

II

It is, therefore, obvious that there is no antagonism between a man of letters and a man of affairs. But, on the other hand, I think, it is very difficult to find a man of affairs who is also a man of letters. Such a man is rare in these days. All the statesmen in England these days seem to pay little heed to the literary quality of what they say or write. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has made fun of an utterance of Mr. Lloyd George in his book 'The Art of Writing'. Mr. Lloyd George does not only snap his fingers at literary polish and grace, but he seems to be careless of English idiom too. This is, of course, something pardonable in the case of a man about whom it is said that he never writes and seldom reads. But if Mr. Lloyd George lacks literary finish, his chief the Earl of Oxford was a rare combination of a man of affairs and a man of letters. No one who reads his books can question his title to that. His writings were the outcome of the mind of a man, who had read widely, thought deeply, and who possessed the inimitable gift of elegant expression. As one goes through the pages of his books one

wonders how he could manage to read so much. History, biography, criticism and classics—these were the pastures in which he browsed or grazed. He drew a fine picture of the age of Hadrian, and as regards biography he spoke of the Dictionary of National Biography, with the same rapture as did Keats about Chapman's Homer. To those who wish to develop critical acumen, his advice is, "Familiarise yourself with these masters: De Quincey, Carlyle, Hazlitt, Lamb, Coleridge, Bagehot, Matthew Arnold, Stevenson and Richard Holt Hutton." What a formidable array of names! But he was at his best when he came forth as an apologist of the classics. It is by reading his fervid words about the classics that one can plumb the depths of his erudition:

The man who has studied literature, and particularly the literature of the ancient world, as a student should, and as only a student can, I am not speaking of those two whom it has been merely a distraction or a pastime such a man possesses resources which, if he is wise, he would not barter for a king's ransom. He finds among men of like training with himself a bond of fellowship, free-masonry of spirit and understanding, which softens the asperities and survives the conflicts of professional or political rivalry. He need never be alone, for he can, whenever he pleases, invoke the companionship of the thinkers and the poets. He is always annexing new intellectual and spiritual territory, with an infinitude of fresh possibilities, without slackening his hold upon or losing his zest for the old. There is hardly a sight or a sound in nature, a passion or emotion or purpose in man, a phase of conduct, an achievement of thought, a situation of life—tragic or comic, pathetic or ironical, which is not illuminated for him by association with the imperishable words of those who have interpreted, with the vision and in the language of genius, the meaning of the world.

When we read all this we cannot but feel the same wonder which the ignorant rustics felt at the omniscience of Goldsmith's Village Schoolmaster.

III

I think no one can lay claim to being a man of letters if his writings do not possess an atmosphere. There is an atmosphere about good writing as there is a fragrance about flowers. You can as well distinguish between the atmosphere of different writings as you can the fragrance of the rose from that of the jasmine. As we go through the work of an author, we naturally inhale his atmosphere. Who can read Hazlitt without being impressed with his lyrical effusions? We watch in his writings, as it

were his personality with all its sorrows, comforts, delusions and whims. We do not see him as we see the players in a masquerade with their faces hid by mask within mask, but we see him as we would have seen the first parents in the Garden of Eden before they had tasted the fruit of knowledge. We see him in his undress and feel the glow and warmth of his intimate personality. A man who reads Hazlitt without catching a glimpse of his personality misses the life-breath of his writings. The same might be true of Carlyle. Who can study Carlyle without being infected by his moral vehemence, his prophetic solemnity and the fierceness of his denunciations? A man who pores over Carlyle without being touched by these things is like the playgoer who goes to see Hamlet without ever knowing the Prince of Denmark. This atmosphere, this relish, odour, fragrance, bouquet—call it by what name you please—is unmistakably present in all great writers. It is, as it were the hall-mark of a great writer. No one can read the pages of Lord Oxford without learning his secret. There is an air of serenity and dignity about all that he writes. There is no spirit of contention in them which can jar upon our ears; all is written with sweet reasonableness. There is nothing slipshod, and he never aims at cheap effects. Nowhere do we find the ignoble ease, the feeble facility of an amateur, but everywhere there is the restraint, the rigid discipline which comes of conscientious workmanship. Whether he talked about the unfortunate Haydon (But Haydon, though cursed with a vain and violent temperament, a prey to ambitions always in excess of his powers of execution, perpetually hovering on the confines of the insanity to which he at last succumbed, was one of the acutest and most accomplished critics, and on the whole, the most strenuous and indomitable controversialist of his time), or the golden age of Hadrian, and whether he discoursed on the use of culture or on the necessity of the critical spirit he never lost hold of his subject and always spoke in measured terms.

IV

But Lord Oxford was not only great, because he spread an atmosphere about whatever he talked or wrote. He was also the master of form. Formlessness is the besetting sin of all modern authors. It is,

in fact, the necessary consequence of romantic freedom. The power to move is not the only distinguishing mark of a work of art—a work of art must also possess form. And form is nothing but the artistic masonry, the faculty by means of which the author builds thought upon thought, phrase upon phrase, and argument upon argument in a consistent whole. It is that which gives completeness and unity to the whole and by means of which parts bear a relation to one another.

This architectural quality distinguished the bards of Greece and Rome, Milton and Ben Jonson, but the succeeding generations lost the secret of it. Lord Oxford was the literary mason who built his essays or speeches. In this he presented a contrast to other writers or speakers. Bacon's essays are nothing but a string of statements. De Quincey, Hazlitt and Lamb, all possess intolerable prolixity. They always pour their thoughts out in inextricable confusion. Lord Oxford's essays, on the other hand, have a beginning, a middle and an end. Read any of his essays, and you can see how he unfolds his points like the petals of a flower. There is nothing out of place; and everything bears the mark of careful planning.

Atmosphere, form and expression—these are the titles of Lord Oxford to eminence. Lord Oxford was the master of stately, compact, and concise style. He had the habit of throwing out pregnant remarks—remarks which lighted up many a dark notion. For instance, who can question the felicity of expressions like these. "If representation is the function of art, interpretation is the function of criticism." "It is not the function of a biography to be a magnified epitaph or an expanded tract." Herein Lord Oxford rivalled Bacon in the sententiousness of his remarks. But he could be homely as well. 'There is no nutrition to be got out of chopped straw like this.' 'The promise has come home to roost.' But it was not by virtue of his occasional felicities of phrases that he was great—everything that he wrote was full of sustained dignity. Sometimes he rose to the height of splendour

and eloquence as in the last paragraphs of his essays. Anyone who reads the last paragraph of his address on 'Culture and Character' will bear testimony to it. His choice of words was, in fact, right and unerring, though sometimes he was obsessed with the vices of a pedant in choosing the unfamiliar words. This is what he says :

The temper which I am endeavouring to describe is not in any sense one of intellectual detachment or indifference; nor has it anything in common with that chronic paralysis of the judgment, which makes some men incapable of choosing between the right and wrong reason, or the better and the worse cause. It implies, on the contrary, an active and virile mental life, equipped against the fallacies of the market-place and the cave, animated by the will to believe and to act, but open always to the air of reason and the light of truth. One final counsel I will venture to offer to you. I speak as an old University man who, in a crowded and somewhat contentious life has never wholly lost touch with the interests and the ideals of Oxford days. If the short span which, in fuller or lesser measure, is allotted to us all is to be wisely spent, one must not squander, but one should husband and invest, what never comes again, and what here and now is offered to every one of you. The more strenuous your career, the more you will need to draw upon that unfailing reservoir. Some times, amid the clash of public strife there may steal back into the memory of us the sombre lines of the greatest of Roman poets :

*Di Jovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
Amborum, et tantos mortalibus ease labores.*

That is but a passing mood, except in an ill-furnished mind. Keep always with you, wherever your course may lie, the best and most enduring gift that a University can bestow, the company of great thoughts, the inspiration of great ideals, the example of great achievements, the consolation of great failures. So equipped, you can face, without perturbation, the buffets of circumstance, the caprice of fortune, all the inscrutable vicissitudes of life. Nor can you do better than take as your motto the famous words which I read over the portals of this College when I came here today. 'They have said, What say they? Let them say.'

That Lord Oxford was a man of letters as well as a man of affairs, no one would question. That he lacked careless abandon, and rarely let himself go, does not matter. People who wish to cultivate a stately, dignified and terse style will do well to pore over his pages till his secret is learnt.

PEACEFUL TURKEY

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NEW TURKEY

BY J. H. RICHARD. (Former Minister)

(Translated from the *French Political & Parliamentary Review* by Maneklal Vakil,
M. A., LL. B., F. S. S.)

THE defeat of the Greek army on the Sakharis on 30th August 1922, the entry of Mustafa Kamal Pasha into Constantinople, the dethronement of the Kalif and the proclamation of the Turkish republic have put an end to the lamentable agonies of the "Sick Man" of Europe. On the morrow of these events of capital importance a new man appeared perfectly wise, animated with an ardent patriotism, with an inextinguishable thirst for progress, with a firm decision to be free and a master in his own house. To achieve the cure of the heritage of the Sick Man there was placed symbolically a doctor at the head of Turkish diplomacy. Tewfik Rouchdy Bey had been a pupil of one of our faculties of medicine, later a doctor about 1908 in France, later still an officer and at last the founder of the New Foreign Policy of Turkey.

This foreign policy has a considerable importance not merely from the point of view of the special problems of Eastern Europe but also from that of the large problems of the world. The republican Turkey—disburdened of her Slav and Arab impediments, reduced to the strict ethnic limits of purely Turkish territories but occupying on the flanks of Russia on the one side and of those of the Anglo-Indian Empire on the other and across one of the great highways of communication of the world on the other side, a position, the intrinsic importance of which will increase in proportion to the increase from year to year of her own power and her own specific weight—is a factor of which one cannot without danger diminish or misappreciate the value at a time when some open or hidden conflicts imperil through Balkanic or far-Eastern incidents the security of the big nations. It is not a matter of indifference to know exactly what this new actor will or will not bring about in moments of crisis while so curiously placed astride over what I shall call several lines of princi-

pal forces of the great international covetousness.

Having been frequently in long residence in Turkey, sometime in very grave times, I happened to be at Angora, at perhaps the most critical moment of the affair of Mossul when General Pangalos pushed by some insidious advice dreamt of throwing himself across the road to Byzance. The very numerous negotiations with the leaders of the real Turkey and particularly with Tewfik Rouchdy Bey the Minister of foreign affairs, in one word, a number of enquiries seriously carried on since the summer of 1925 make it possible for me, I think, to try to define with a certain precision the outlines of this Turkish foreign policy which must not be confounded at any price with the foreign policy of the former Ottoman Empire.

The first period that was terminated with the signature of a provisional agreement with the United States and which commenced with the signature of the treaty of Moscow with the Soviet Russia was a period of liquidation. The Ottoman debacle of 1918, the partition of Asia Minor amongst the victorious allies and lastly the Greco-Turkish campaign had created a collection of problems which had to be solved without delay with the object of destroying all germs of possible conflict and of equally assuring to the New Turkey that thing which she required above all to carry through the great work of her national reconstruction, namely "the Peace".

"We are trying to settle in their smallest details, those problems which we may have with our neighbours" said to me the Minister of foreign affairs in the preceding summer. "Because all that we did, tended to one unique object which was for us an end in itself and not a means, viz, the peace, peace within the boundaries of our national state which we did realise. It is this principle which guides us since the first congresses of

Erzeroum and of Sivas. We desire peace not to prepare ourselves for future wars but to have peace and be able to work for our grand enterprise viz. to make our country a modern and prosperous state. The settlements that we seek are also definite agreements first with our neighbours and then with the whole world.

"All our policy is based on this principle that peace is indispensable to Turkey because our duty is to give to the nation the maximum of welfare and of happiness. Then in the life of the peoples as in that of individuals the secret of happiness is to know how to be contented with what one has and to work to develop its welfare within the limits of the conditions that may have been given."

The regime of Kamal Pasha put these principles into practice with an unchanging rigour, going (in every settlement which he negotiated namely the Turko-Russian settlement, the Turko-Syrian settlement, the settlement about Mossul) to the extreme limit of possible concessions so as to arrive at certain accords from which all can be foreseen and from which all germs of later conflict may be eliminated and also so as to come out of each one of these settlements more independent and more free. It was thus how he concluded successfully the treaty of Moscow with Russia completed by the agreement of Paris in December 1925, the treaty of Franklin-Bouillon and the agreement of Angora with France and Syria, the treaty with Persia, the agreement with Bulgaria, and at last the treaty of the Turko-Iranean good neighbourliness with England which put an end to the conflict about Mossul.

In the series of neighbourly settlements the last agreement concluded is that which was being negotiated with Greece but indefinitely postponed by the unstable politics prevailing in that country. With this last agreement the New Turkey completed the cycle of her arrangements with the countries on her boundaries; and that is what permitted a Turkish diplomat some time ago to tell me with a legitimate pride, "While we are no members of the League of Nations we have in reality, better than any other power, understood and applied the spirit of Locarno since we are the only people who have concluded with all our neighbours treaties of nonaggression."

In the interval several agreements and

conventions were, moreover, signed with several countries more distant namely the Servian Kingdom, Poland etc. with which Turkey had been at war during the world conflict of 1914-18, as well as with several neutral countries. And it is quite recently that the last signature has been put to this work of international consolidation by the exchange of notes since the last few weeks which will permit Tewfik Rouchdy Bey and the American negotiator Admiral Bristol to re-establish between Turkey and the United States diplomatic and commercial relations; and this will be so in spite of the rejection of the treaty of Lausanne by the Senate of Washington.

"All our foreign policy will be very simple and very easy to understand if one well takes into account the fact that we are seeking to establish general peace step by step—so told me one day a Turkish minister—because it is impossible to establish at one single stroke such a general peace. All that we do, all that we sign, tends to this unique object, to the enlargement of peace and not towards the building up of political alliances pitched against one another."

Since the fall of the empire and proclamation of the republic the curve of Turkish Foreign Policy has remained constant, there being nothing to shake the sincerity of this declaration. We have seen Turkey in course of this period, ready in the way of defending herself when she saw her independence and her integrity being threatened; such was the case in the Spring of 1926 when Angora mobilised five classes of reserves to warn M. Pangalos and his friends of London against the risks of a Thracian adventure. Never have we seen her building up any alliance for war.

In particular,—and this is a question which was often treated in our daily press mostly with a spirit of passion which excluded the possibility of an objective analysis—the special relations created between Angora and Moscow by the treaty of Moscow and the convention of 1925—do these signify the enslavement of New Turkey into the hands of the masters of Kremlin? This is a question of first rate importance at this actual moment when the masters of Kremlin are engaged at the other end of Asia to which Turkey is the western gate, in a merciless fight though indirect against one of the largest powers in the world. In other words, in signing with Russia the agreement

already known have even Mustafa Kamal Pasha and his colleagues delivered their country bound hand and foot to this Third international inseparable from the Sovietic government and have they made a sort of base for communism in the Eastern Basin of the Mediterranean upto the Balkans on the one side and upto middle and central Asia on the other?

Let us examine, if you like, separately these two faces of the problem.

If Turkey was to become, since the treaty of Moscow, the slave of the Komintern, this state of affairs should manifest itself by an infallible first symptom, difficult to conceal, of the intensification of communist propaganda in Turkish territories. I mean not merely the internal propaganda directed against the constitution of the Turkish state but above all the external propaganda directed from Turkey into the neighbouring states as the internal propaganda can have very little chances of success in an almost purely agricultural country where the peasant enriched by the recent suppression of the tithes which used to ruin him, had no cause of discontent.

Certainly Russia did attempt to organise in Turkey one or the other propaganda. The first had a lamentable failure of its own accord and the three communist journals in the Turkish language subsidized by the Komintern rapidly disappeared for want of finding a single reader. The second showed itself in an attempt made in April, 1924 to create under colour of a "Mission of Study" a centre of operation against Bulgaria near the Thracian frontier at Andrinople. This attempt had no more success. Comrade Krzeminsky chief of the Mission of Studies and his colleagues Kasass, Sokoloff, Topchibatcheff and Vassilevski passed 58 days in the half-deserted capital of Eastern Thrace where they had hired a whole house for a rent of 408 Turkish pounds per month. They tried to win popularity by paying a pound for their boot-polish as well as for a newspaper with three piastres and by trying all possible means to get into intimacy with the local population. But very discretely they had been segregated all round. An eyewitness narrated to me one day under the shadow of the wonderful minarets of the Mosque of Andrinople how the Sovietic Mission found itself reduced to the society of only two citizens certainly amiable but who were connected with some families of the police department. A few days later

a French diplomat, the greatest one we had since the war in Eastern Europe, told me with a smile, "No, never will Turkey adopt this policy which is the most senseless possible one and which consists in playing with explosives to harm a neighbour at the risk of the materials exploding into her own face."

The events have proved, however, better than all possible argument that the centre of communist propaganda for the Balkanic States works elsewhere than in Turkey.

The precise facts which I observed with my own eyes are exactly not the symptoms of subservience. Doubtless an objection may be raised that there are certain facts relatively of small importance which otherwise is constant, that the Third International does not seek to create internal and external embarrassments to those countries where the Russian Government has some interest of real value,—and this is the case with Turkey—and that it has other lands far larger in which it can usefully and decisively use the Turko-Sovietic collaboration. In other words, repeating accusations levelled against Turkey at the time of the Odessa interview between Tvefik Rouchdy Bey and M. Tchitcherine, one may speak of the Russo-Turkish collusion in Asia in a project of a Pan-Asiatic movement directed against Europe and of the complicity of the States of the Black Sea in the Anglo-Russian duel which is taking place in the far-East.

Will, and can Turkey safeguard in this respect the pure pacific character of her foreign policy and will she discard the temptations which her Eastern European and Asiatic friendships may possibly attempt to offer? I put this question directly a short time ago to the Minister of Turkish Foreign Affairs and Tewfik Rouchdy Bey gave me some categorical and characteristic replies which I consider it useful to reproduce here in their entirety.

"Certainly we have some Asiatic interests, but we are no Asiatic power. We have some Asiatic interests because we are here at the gate of Western and Central Asia and because we are an extension of European civilization to those countries. But we are not precisely an Asiatic Power for that very reason; it will be absurd to maintain that a few hundreds of meters of water which separate the two coasts of the Bosphorus form a limit between the two continents and the two civilizations.

"From this condition of affairs in fact is derived all our Asiatic policy.

"All that which contributes to the project of grouping together all Asiatic Powers in a fight against Europe is absurd and moreover, entirely foreign to our comprehension. For that we are rather too immediately connected with Europe by our interests and destiny.

"If we should attempt to do the contrary, it would be fatal and it would violate all which appeals to our good sense and that would not be beneficial either for ourselves or for any body else. The events in China affect us only from one point of view. As everywhere, so in China a movement of nationalism would draw our sympathy but we should wish that the movement is evolved in a particularly peaceful fashion.

"We frankly told our Asiatic as well as Western friends that there will only be on this earth a single civilization, the modern civilization which we know. We, therefore, do not consider that there can be a fight between two civilizations. All obstacles and all restrictions which hinder the development of this civilization appear to our eye like a reaction against which we have a perfect antipathy."

It is not possible for me to define more clearly the attitude which the actual Turkey of today would take in the matter of the events of the far-East, though she is certainly nationalist and revolutionary but pacific everywhere and a friend of all attempts at national reconstruction when she can see a promise of general progress, but a resolute opponent of all violence and all attempts of seducing her into that violence. I think I can conclude that neither the European Imperialists nor the Pan-Asiatic ideology have any chance of finding at Angora either assistance or support.

We are far from the "Conspiracy of Odessa."

There are, yet, in the immediate neighbourhood of Turkey some germs of conflict nearer and possibly more virulent. A profound crisis is going to shake and shake again the Balkan Peninsula, a crisis which I have studied in this very place for some time and of which the counter strokes at once reach Turkey who, if she is only an Asiatic Power, still remains a counter-Balkan power.

And first of all before commencing the examination of the new Balkan situation

created since the 27th of November last by the conclusion of the Italo-Albanian treaty at Tirana it would be convenient to define the relations which exist at the present moment between Turkey and the various Balkan States.

The enquiries which I made both at Angora as well as elsewhere enable me to describe the present condition and those relations; friendly with Greece, correct with Bulgaria, officially friendly with Yugoslavia but practically with some obscurities as the result of a certain rancour against such and such internal or external manifestations of several cabinets presided over by M. Ouzunovitch.

Turkey did make in favour of her neighbour Bulgaria last summer, a movement which appears to have had the object of establishing between these two countries frankly amicable relations. At the moment when the government of Sofia received from the cabinet of Bulgaria and Athens the famous identical note so regrettable from the point of view of a development of good inter-Balkan relations and so perfectly sterile otherwise, the government of Angora signed with Bulgaria a provisional agreement of a duration of six months with the intention of concluding a definite commercial treaty. This was a very small thing but in the spirit of Turkey it was the expression of her will to dismember collective manifestations of hostility against Bulgaria and all aggressive policy with regard to this country the independence and the entire sovereignty of which are to Turkey a necessity, national as well as international.

One can believe that this manifestation is going to inaugurate a novel era in the Turko-Bulgarian relations, an era of frank and intimate relations and also of real and loyal collaboration. This would appear to be more justified because no discord of any sort whatever, nor any latent conflict exists between these two states the greater part of whose interests are precisely in agreement.

* * *

If one now examines the chapter of the Turko-Servian relations, there are unfortunately several difficulties which one can recognise. But the actual isolation in which the Servian Kingdom finds itself in the Balkan peninsula is possibly for a good part of it the consequence of a tactical error committed by the Servian radicals in asso-

ciating themselves with M. Pangalos in an attempt to isolate Turkey.

* * *

Such are the results of my personal enquires. It will, however, not be useless by way of conclusion to complete them by means of a certain number of official declarations in which the Minister of Turkish Foreign Affairs has defined the point of view of his government regarding the different problems presented by the Balkans.

"And first of all I want to tell you that we are ourselves perfectly tranquil. We do not feel in the slightest degree threatened for many reasons and specially because we have a solid position and because any attempt of expansion across the Balkan peninsula if at all is made, it will weaken itself, the farther it goes away from its base and approaches us."

One of the fundamental doctrines of Turkish political ideology is in effect the invulnerability of the actual Turkey. One may not doubt it because this doctrine has been affirmed at the moment of the affair of Mossul officially in an interview which I had with the Turkish Minister. It is a fact that Angora, the actual capital, is beyond all offensive, even aerial. On the other hand, Constantinople is not considered as a vital position of the country. A Turkish politician told me, also during the same critical period of the Anglo-Turkish negotiations, "Constantinople! even supposing this town is so easy to approach and it seems to me that we have proved the contrary during the world-war very well—we shall evacuate it. Constantinople is the fatal point of the Globe. Whatever power settles herself there, there will be a great war. It is not we that are

threatened at Constantinople; it is the world peace."

"It is necessary," continued the minister, "that the Balkan nations form an alliance amongst themselves. But it is necessary also that this alliance should be general. The alliance between any two powers, if it is concluded in a manner to stop the others from joining, will, by the consequence, be immediately the cause of a contrary group comprising the rest. So it is necessary that the Balkans, all Balkan States, live together peacefully and sincerely and discuss the liquidation of their mutual difficulties. It is necessary on all sides that the Balkan countries cease to be instruments in the hands of others. It is not necessary that an alliance of the Balkan nations must be directed against such and such a great power or the privilege of influence of such and such another. This alliance should be equally appreciated by all the great powers. And above all, I must tell you that it will be sterile enough to attempt anything in the Balkans without the assent of Turkey and that of our friend Russia." Such is the clear exposition of the foundations of the Turkish policy in the Balkans.

* * *

There is nothing there which can weaken the least in the world the sincerity of this policy of "Peace for the sake of peace" which I announced as the fundamental idea at the commencement of this article.

There is nothing also there (and this also essential for us) which would conflict with the real interests of France, a peaceful power whose prestige in the East is desired by all those who are attached to the ideas of agreement and equilibrium.

The Acid Test of Courage

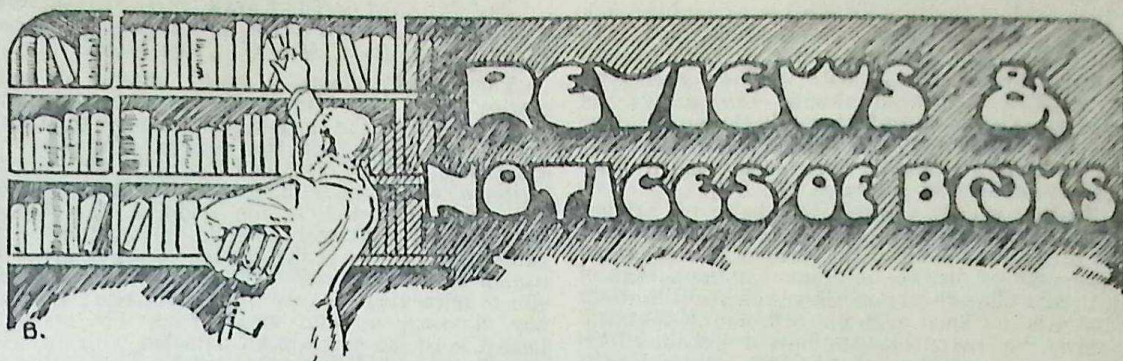
Nicodemus came in the night, secretly, for he had courage enough to brave the darkness and the wind, but not enough to brave the opinion of men.

—Henry Barbusse, in Jesus.

Prayers

PRAYERS are like trees reaching
Toward the higher rain;
Who has seen trees reaching
Toward the sky in vain?

—ARTHUR R. MACDOUGALL, JR.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

"THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA (Post-Vedic): A thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. (Econ.) in the University of London (1926) by Beni Prasad M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Reader in Civics and Politics. University of Allahabad," pp. 367 and pp 3 as Foreward by Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.Litt., D.C.L., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh. Price Rs. 8-8, published by the Indian Press Ltd, Allahabad, 1927.

The volume is a mere load to the library of the country. To illustrate, take two self-contained and complete paragraphs on subjects marked by insets on the pages of the work under review.

"THE VARAHA PURANA

"The Varaha Purana, recited by Visnu as Varaha or the Boar Incarnation to the personified earth whom he had saved from annihilation, contains only brief and scattered allusions to the creation of the world and the reigns of kings. Here and there it mentions monarchs who, tired of worldly prosperity, installed their sons on the throne and themselves departed to the forest to lead ascetic lives. It declares that Brahmanas must be worshipped by all. None should display indignation or jealousy towards them."—(p. 198).

"THE KURMA PURANA

"The Kurma Purana, recited by the divine Tortoise Incarnation to the Rishis who sang his praises at the churning of the ocean, presents a vivid picture of idyllic existence and a perverted society. The world began with abundant Kalpa trees which showered necessities and luxuries on all at the prompting of the heart. When they disappeared at the commencement of the Tretayuga, men were seized with greed. By the Kaliyuga or the present dark age, virtue departed from the earth. Men are now feeble, irascible, covetous and untruthful. Brahmanas do not study the Vedas, nor repeat the hymns nor perform ablutions. They will associate with Sudras and join

them in the performance of religious rites. 'Princes, surrounded by Sudras, shall prosecute the Brahmanas'. Sudras will occupy higher positions than Brahmanas. All alike will insult and disparage the Vedas and gods. That's what is destined to happen but what ought not to happen." (p. 199).

It would be difficult to find men with normally constituted mind, who would agree to read all this as the "Theory of Government in Ancient India." Pages after pages and chapters after chapters, we get such matters which have nothing to do with any theory of any government. It is a literary curio shop with questionable commodities like :

"SUBSEQUENT NITI LITERATURE

(a) "During the Middle Ages many Niti works were composed closely following the lines traced out in the ancient age. Nor has the stream altogether dried up in modern days. For instance a board of ten Panditas at the court of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Simha at Lahore in the first half of the nineteenth century compiled a Niti Sastra called Vivad-arnavasetu." (pp. 266-267).

The Vivadarnavasetu is not a niti-sastra, but a Digest of Hindu Law, prepared not for Ranjit Singh, but for Warren Hastings, by Pandits of Bengal under Rama-Gopala Tarka-Panchanana of Nadia and is the original of the famous "Gentoo" Code.

"PURUSAPARIKSA

(b) "Another work of a similar character, though of inferior merit, is the Purusapariksa by Vidyapati Thakur, a protege of Swasimhaddeva, composed in the 14th or 15th century but belonging to the old tradition." (p. 293).

Swa-sinha is unknown to history. Nor would a Hindu king be willingly named 'a lion amongst dogs.' The name of the Sanskrit book which is spelt throughout as 'Purusapariksa' (पुरुष परीक्षा) is in the original Purusapariksa (परीक्षा) and not 'क्ष'.

It is evident that the knowledge entered through this tome is catalogue information and the scholarship is of the type aptly called *suchi-panditya* by a living wit. The successful doctor does not even know the names of Chandeesvara's Rajanitaratnakara (1924), nor does he know King Somadeva's Manasollasa (Baroda 1925). It is doubtful whether he has even read Kaman-daka "a summary of Kautalya," (p. 243).

In the whole volume the bulk of original matter if called out will cover less than five pages. Less than one-fourth of the written matter would be remotely or directly relevant to the subject of the thesis. The theory of Government of "Ancient India" has not been even grasped, far less stated. There is the inevitable testimonial obtained from a European professor of Sanskrit, there is the inevitable bibliography of books read or unread commencing with the Rigveda down to Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, there are footnotes at every page; but all this, combined, fail to make the volume a book.

The writer thanks one Prof Teresa Joseph for kindly re-touching the draft of several chapters. Prof. Macdonell and Dr. Barnett "were pleased to favour" the author "with criticism of the earlier chapters". Yet we have such gems as "ascetic lives", "Sudras.....the Brahmanas" and again "Brahmanas", cited above; "Dukhama-miserable" (p. 222); Bharadwaja is viticimised as *Bharadwaj* (p. 150).

Suchi-Panditya prefers reading about authors and authorities, not the books themselves. Hence

"In the Hindu scheme of authorities, the Smritis are always preferred to Arthasastras, but Kamandaka more than once rejects Manu and the Manavas in favour of Kautalya" (p. 1512). The learned doctor ought to know by now the difference between the Manava Dharmasastra and the Manava Arthasastra. And he would have known it, had he cared to read the Arthasastra and Kamandaka.

Before he undertook to abuse his ancient and modern countrymen, Dr. Beni Prasad should have learnt to read his texts. "In Kamandaka, as in other Hindu writers, Rajan or Swamin (sic) often conveys the sense of Government or State" (p. 150) is one of the statements which cannot be invested with authority in spite of a dozen doctorates. "As in Medieval Italy, so in ancient India, diplomacy too often became synonymous with fraud" (p. 149).—"the monarchy was despotic. Hindu theory knows of no constitutional checks". (p. 358), etc. competes with Miss Mayo minus her language and her art in quoting evidence.

I do not object to an Indian consecrating his energy to proving the Hindu civilization to have been a society of semi-barbarians. Have we not seen Hindus in Moghul times describing their countrymen as *Kafirs* and their death as departure to hell? It is a tradition, it must be kept up. But what I object to is doing it in an unscientific, unlearned way. Dr. Beni Prasad has reduced his undertaking to a pure *anadhikara-charcha*. He did not equip himself for his undertaking.

K. P. JAYASWAL

THE CHILDREN OF THE KAVERI:—By Shanker Ram. Published by A. N. Purnah, 56, Bangaru Naicken Street, Mount Road, Madras. Price Rs. 12.

The book contains a small number of short stories which deal with the manners, customs and temperament of the people who inhabit the palmy and fertile banks of the Kaveri. The book is steeped in local colour, and the gay old sinewy boatman, who pays with his life, the debt of sacrifice which he owed to his goddess; the village urchin who contrives to send his cattle to the cattle-pound, because the fodder being scanty, he cannot feed them; the village physician, who can effect miraculous cures for snake-bite; and the boy flute-player who steals from his home to hear a musician sing are all depicted with unerring insight and with fidelity to truth. The author is also free from the taint of sentimentality and melodrama, to which Indian authors are usually a prey. The stories are thus written by a writer, whose powers of observation are equal to his skill at interpretation, and whose adherence to truth does not make him too literal. His stories are full of quiet beauty, pathos and tender human appeal, and possess that art which conceals art. One can never have too much of such stories, and the author is to be congratulated on producing such an excellent book. Careless proof-reading and defective format have however spoiled, to some extent, a book of otherwise excellent stories.

BY WHAT AUTHORITY:—By J. Krishna Murti. Published by the Star Publishing Trust Errede Ommen Holland.

In going through Mr. Krishna Murti's book, I am reminded of the old adage, "Old wine in new bottles." I do not think Krishna Murti has any new message, but the old gospel that the Kingdom of happiness lies within us, he preaches with such enthusiasm, earnestness and conviction that it is impossible not to be influenced by what he says. His writings, full of crystalline simplicity, indescribable charm, and beneficent power, have another salutary message to teach us. He is never weary of telling us that we should cut ourselves off from all old traditions and customs that hamper our growth. Thus he preaches his message of Liberation and Happiness—a much-needed message, to a world, which is full of misery, and that has a slavish and unwholesome regard for authority.

DWINCHAND SHARMA

INDIAN PENAL CODE: By Mr. Dinesh Chandra Roy M. A. B. L., Vakil, Calcutta High Court. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta. 1927.

It is a very remarkable publication. The author has taken infinite pains to make this work useful to the busy lawyers by his exhaustive and well-arranged notes under each section. Another special feature of this book is that the author has given copious extracts from the judgments of the High Courts and the Judicial Committee which are appropriate and would be immensely helpful to the profession. The arrangement of the subjects is excellent. The Index is exhaustive and well-arranged. We have no doubt that the book will find favour with the practising

lawyers and the students alike. The printing and get-up of the work leave nothing to be desired.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE LAW OF INSOLVENCY IN BRITISH INDIA; By D. B. Kshirsagar, LL. B. Poona. Paper Bound. Price Rs. 2-12. 1927.

The book, under notice, is an welcome addition in the field of legal literature. The introduction consists of very useful material and the comparison of the Provincial and Presidency Towns' Insolvency Acts will repay perusal. The book will prove very useful to practitioners, businessmen and the students.

G. M. S.

EVERYMAN'S DIARY: Published by the Bengal Industrial Co., Paper and Ink Manufacturers, Calcutta, 1928.

This is an excellent pocket diary. The get-up is excellent and many useful informations have been incorporated in it. It will be useful to lawyers, physicians and to the general public.

S. K. D.

BENGALI

HILJI MASNAD-I-ALA: By Mr. Mahendranath Karan, Kshemananda Kutir, P.O. Janka, Dist. Midnapore.

The small tract of Hilji in the district of Midnapore has fortunately got its careful historian in Mr. Mahendranath Karan. The house of Taj Khan Masnad-i-Ala which played an important part in the seventeenth century established a sort of buffer state between Bengal and Orissa. The Masnad-i-Ala has been remembered by our masses more because he turned a saint in the latter part of his life than because he wielded the powers of a petty Nawab. This history of Hilji is an achievement both on account of the materials accumulated and the method followed. Both Persian and Portuguese contemporary sources have been amply tapped. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has helped the author both with materials and advice, and the latter has utilised them most creditably. Such monographs on other important sites of Bengal are an important field of work. The author has dispelled several incongruities and established plausible theories based on facts and criticism. The chapter on the other Masnad-i-Alas has bearing on the history of other districts of Bengal, the inscriptions, the maps and illustrations are all very useful. We congratulate the author on his signal success.

RAMES BASU

HINDI

SRI GOURANGA MAHAPRABHU: By Shivanandan Sahay, published by Khorga Vilash Press, Bankipur (Patna). 3+501+3. Price Rs. 2.

The school of Goudiya Vaishnavism inspite of many points of its contact with the systems of Ramanuja and Nimbarka, is a striking departure from the latter two in some respects. The great

founder of this neo-Vaishnavism in Bengal is Sri Gouranga, the Prophet of Nadia. Until recently, very little of it was known beyond the confines of Bengal except, of course, Brindaban. But even Brindaban, as a stronghold Vaishnavic culture, owes its all to the initiative of Sri Gouranga, and the subsequent efforts of his immediate followers, the great saints, who all hailed from Bengal. It is a happy thing to note that for some years past the cult of Sri Gouranga has been gaining ground in the Upper Provinces, and the late Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose's monumental work, "Lord Gouranga" has been largely instrumental in acquainting the world outside Bengal with the life and teachings of the prophet. But in India this work could only reach the English-educated few who cultivated any taste for literature on such subjects. Babu Shivanandan Sahay's "Sri Gouranga Mahaprabhu" is therefore welcome as a laudable attempt to popularize the life-work of the great Mahaprabhu among the Hindi-speaking people of India. The author himself appears to be a devoted follower of Sri Gouranga and has offered feeling tributes of his devotion at the feet of his Lord in the form of verses composed by himself which we meet with here and there in the book. In the delineation of events the author has evidently followed Shishir Kumar Ghose's Bengali work "Sri Amiya Nimai Charita" which is regarded somewhat like a classic among the latter-day biographies of Sri Gouranga. In fact, the style of expression adopted in the book will strike the reader as nothing but the Hindi rendering of "Sri Amiya Nimai Charita" in many places. However, this Hindi work is no feeble imitation of its Bengalee prototype. We endorse every word of this Hindi writer when he says that the greatness of Sri Gouranga's love-cult is self-evident, and does not require to be enhanced by the ungenerous attempt to detract from the merit of other systems, and that such unnecessary—sometimes positively unnecessary discourses should not have been permitted to disfigure an otherwise highly inspiring production like the "Sri Amiya Nimai Charita."

In referring to the history of Navadwip, the author says that the founder of the Sen dynasty was Adisur, and that Adisur belonged to the Chandra Vansya Kshatriya stock of Karnatak in the Deccan. He has apparently relied on the authority of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's "Indo-Aryans" in this respect. But we are afraid he has allowed his knowledge of the history of Bengal to fall into arrear, as later researches show that the Sur and the Sen dynasties are not identical. The founder of the Sen dynasty was not Adisur but Bejoya Sen—a scion of the Chandra Vanshuja Kshatriya branch of Karnatak who came to rule over a portion of Bengal about the twelfth century A. D.

We can safely say that the book under review will amply repay perusal, and will undoubtedly prove a valuable contribution to the growing Hindi literature in the spheres of biography as well as religion.

D. N. G.

SATI-DAHA:—By Mr. Shirsahaya Chaturvedi. Published by the "Chand" Office, Allahabad.

The blood-stained rite of the Sutte has a

history in India from time immemorial. All the facts relating to it are collected in this book from various sources. This book is mainly based on a Bengali work by Mr. Kumudnath Mallick. There are 28 pictures and portraits. The Appendix reprints the Regulation XVII of 1829 by which the rite was abolished.

PRACHIN JAIN SMARAK :—Compiled by *Brahmachari Sitalprasad, The Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Chandawari, Surat.*

This volume of the work which is of 5 parts contains descriptions of the Jain monuments and mementoes found in Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. The materials have been laboriously compiled from various sources. This work is an important collection of ingredients for the history of Jain India.

MERE PHUL :—By *Mr. Vansidhar Vidyalkar, The Hindi-grantha-ratnakar, Hirabagh, Bombay.*

This is a book of poems in the new style. Mr. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya the poet writes in the Foreword—"A close contact with Western poetry and with India's greatest living poet, Rabindranath, has unquestionably gone a great way in moulding Vansidhar's style and thought and metre. Another important feature of our young poet's work is that he has also been handling Persian and Urdu metres with the mastery of originality. But in spite of models and influences Vansidhar is himself." In the preface the poet discusses about the modern movement and the mutations of metres. He has also tried the blank verse with success.

BHARATVARSHA KA ITIHAS Vol. II : By *Acharya Ramder, Gurukul University, Kangri, 1927.*

By the term "History of India" we generally mean a compendium of the dates and facts of political enterprises. But this volume is not a date-and-fact history of that description. Here is an attempt to reconstruct the internal history of Indian civilisation not excepting its political phase. The volume consists of four parts—the first deals with times of the Mahabharatam, the second with the Puranic proto-history before the advent of Buddhism, the third with social and political data supplied by the *Sukranilisara* (and this is based on the works of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar), and the fourth one is a connected account of the achievements in Greater India. Though this is a compilation and not an original work, it will help the intending students in their endeavours.

SUDHHI-CHANDRODYA : By *Kunwar Chandkaran Sharada, B.A., LL.B. 1927.*

Kunwar Chandkaran Sharada of Ajmeer is an indefatigable social worker of Rajputana; he is connected with all the important social activities of his province. His interest in the Hindu Sabha movement is well-known. The present work will greatly help the *Suddhi* activities inasmuch as it shows that outside elements have been consistently admitted into the Hindu society from the earliest times. We hope this book will receive the serious attention not only of the Hindi-speaking areas but in other provinces also. This is a veritable store-house of information on the subject. There are several pictures and portraits.

RAMESH BAST

MARATHI

SHAKUCHA BHAU OR SHAKU'S BROTHER : By *Capt. and Mrs. Limaye. Publisher N. G. Limaye, Chikhahadi, Bombay. Pages 94. Price twelve annas.*

This is a collection of short stories contributed from time to time by the writers to several Marathi periodicals. The stories are entertaining and are relating to love and war. The authors' have displayed considerable originality in naming the book as the brother of Shaku, their daughter, whose picture is given on the cover. There is a ring of family air about the book, which is a joint production of husband and wife and the writer of the Foreword is the elder brother of the former. The stories will be read with pleasure.

MANUSMRITI WITH MARATHI TRANSLATION : By *Mukund Shastri Mirajkar. Published by the Chitra Shala Press, Poona. Pages 600. Price Rs. three.*

The foolish demonstrations of the burning of the Manusmriti at Madras and Mahad by some hot-blooded Brahmin-haters a few days ago, have not been able to put the work out of existence, nor have they smoothed the path of social reformers in the country. On the contrary, they have given the work a fresh lease of existence as is evidenced by the fact that the Chitra Shala Press of Poona has issued a fresh translation of that hoary work in a more attractive form, that the book will now be read by a larger circle of readers. In the Preface covering 40 pages is given a full summary of the work, chapter by chapter, at the close of which the learned translator has thrown a very wise suggestion that the work needs to be abridged and revised with necessary alterations so as to fit in with the present times and the advancement of society. The suggestion is no doubt very opportune and worth taking up.

LESSONS IN INDIAN BOOK-KEEPING : By *H. S. Ghare Graduate in Commerce of the Tilak University. Published at the Arya Sanskrit Press, Poona. Price as. eight.*

The author has treated the subject of Book-keeping in this treatise in a masterly way. He has shown that the Indian Book-keeping, though it is a system of single entry and as such less scientific and convenient, than that of the West is capable of being transformed into the more systematic and convenient one of Double entry with a few changes which the young writer has intelligently suggested. The attempt is no doubt praiseworthy and the book deserves to be used as a text-book on Book-keeping in all vernacular schools.

V. G. APTE

THE BIOGRAPHY OF LOK. TILAK : By *Mr. N. C. Kelkar.*

A perusal of the second and third volume of "The Life of Lokamanya Tilak" in Marathi which Mr. N. C. Kelkar, M.L.A., published a few days ago reminds one of the verdict of Harcourt on the three "corpulent" volumes of Morley's life of Gladstone. "It will live as a model of what a life

ought to be and is the best monument that could be erected to a great man. It brings before us the wonderful variety of the man in his gifts and interests, his stupendous industry and inexhaustible energy." Mr. Kelkar had the inestimable privilege of very close association with Lokamanya Tilak for more than twenty-five years of his eventful public life. He enjoyed unique opportunities of studying at close quarters the numerous virtues as well as the few foibles of the hero of his biography. Mr. Kelkar has wisely borne in mind in the compilation of his work that a biography is neither a philosophical treatise nor a polemical pamphlet. It has been truly said that a biography is "a study sharply defined by two definite events, birth and death. It fills its canvas with one figure, and other personages, however great in themselves, must always be subsidiary to the central hero."

Mr. Kelkar was to Lokamanya Tilak what Boswell was to Dr. Samuel Johnson. There was perhaps no other gentleman in the whole of Maharashtra, I had almost said, the whole of India than Mr. Kelkar to undertake and to successfully execute the stupendous task of presenting a faithful portrait of an Indian patriot like Lokamanya Tilak in his adventures through life. One may compare in popular parlance Mr. Kelkar with Boswell, but one must candidly own in fairness to the former that he has used his discrimination considerably in the selection of events and incidents in the life of his hero and not slavishly chronicled the minutest detail of everything as was done by the latter. It will not be incorrect to say that Mr. Kelkar resembles Lord Morley rather than Boswell as a biographer.

Mr. Kelkar has published in his book numerous letters written to or by Mr. Tilak to "illustrate and to expand the narrative." These letters were not penned with a view to publication. Some of them were written by Mr. Tilak during his incarceration in the fort at Mandalay. They throw very interesting and instructive light on some of the principal traits in his character, such as his indomitable courage, his hopeful temperament, his readiness to adjust himself to his environments, his untiring energy, his love for his wife and his children, his humour and the like. There is no attempt whatever in any part of the biography to produce "a grandiose" moral effect on the reader. Mr. Kelkar has skilfully exposed the foibles of Mr. Tilak such as obstinacy in clinging to his views, discourteous and frontal onslaughts on his opponents, partiality for political as opposed to social reforms, weakness to observe in private life meaningless religious ceremonies in which he never believed and the like.

The first volume of the biography which was published about five years ago, has already been translated into Hindi.

It will be a surplussage of words to say that the accomplished editor of the premier newspaper published in Marathi has maintained his well-known felicitous and racy diction throughout the book. "Suit the word to the theme and the theme to the word" appears to be a canon of style with Mr. Kelkar.

I have had a lively recollection of some of the triumphant journeys which Lokamanya Tilak made after his restoration to liberty in June 1914 and the large meetings he addressed. I was an eye-

witness to the enthusiastic and loving reception with which Mr. Tilak was greeted almost at every railway station by large crowds of eager people anxious to see him and to honour him even at very inconvenient and odd hours at night. Mr. Tilak's journeys from Bombay to Lucknow, Cawnpore, Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad, Belgaum, and many other places were like the triumphal marches of victorious Roman generals of ancient times. Mr. Kelkar has described the tours of Mr. Tilak most graphically. The futile, frantic and sustained efforts made by Government to undermine Mr. Tilak's influence and popularity among the masses of India have been hit off in the book in a masterly way. Mr. Tilak's trials for sedition, the notoriously false charge of perjury boistered up against him in what is popularly known as Tai Maharaja's case and the historic suit which Lokamanya Tilak was, illadvised to institute against Sir Valentine Chirol in England have all been placed before the reader in their proper perspective. The three erudite books written by Mr. Tilak under circumstances which would have unnerved most men will remain for all time to come as a monument of his ripe scholarship. Mr. Kelkar's pathetic description of the manner in which Mr. Tilak wrote the *Gita Rahasya* with a pencil (as he was forbidden the use of ink) in a small room in the Mandalay Fort reminds one of the compositions by Sir Walter Raleigh of his *History of the World*, while in prison. The protracted controversy provoked by the *Gita-Rahasya* among Shastris and other Sanskrit scholars has been admirably summed up in the biography.

I may say with pardonable pride that I have read the two volumes of the book not only with avidity but with something like Argus-eyed care and I am happy to say that I have not been able to discover more than two inaccurate statements of facts. But unfortunately there are numerous misprints in both the volumes and I have many misgivings as to how the Marathi reading public will appreciate the innovation sought to be introduced by the learned author in omitting the nasal where it is not pronounced in reading or speaking in Marathi. This literary venture of Mr. Kelkar puts one in mind of the attempt made by some enthusiasts in the United States of America at introducing phonetic spelling into the English language. Mr. Kelkar has placed the biography (3 volumes ranging over 2000 pages or so) within an easy reach of readers of modest means by fixing the price at only Rs. 7 for the 3 volumes together.

D. V. BELVI

GUJARATI

STRI-SWATANTRYAYAD: Translated by Mrs. Sarojini N. Mehta, B.A. Published by the Gujarati Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. Pp. 323. Paper cover: Price 12 as. (1927).

Young Mrs. Sarojini has long since been engaged in a crusade against all that is evil and oppressive in the Hindu society so far as our own sex is concerned. She is a plucky and uncompromising fighter, and has armed herself

with facts and incidents which cannot easily be controverted. Her grievance is that woman has been too long treated as an underdog in our society and that must cease. It suits her case to ignore some little good that might be put down to the credit of our society in respect of woman. But unless you are a zealot in a cause, you can make no effect. Prof. A. R. Wadia of the Mysore University has written a book on the Ethics of Feminism and Mrs. Sarojini has translated it. The translation is a model one and very ably done. Frankly she does not agree with many of the author's views and is prepared to write out a book herself controverting them. Failing that, the whole translation is interspersed with interesting footnotes showing her differences with the author's views. They are the best part of the book : they are stinging observations showing us the unfairness of man-made laws and usages. Altogether it is a most refreshing performance, and a harbinger of much more we expect to come and she promises to give.

BRABHA BODHA : *By Manilal Chhotlalal Parekh. Printed at the Modi Printing Press, Rajkot. Cloth cover, pp. 138. Price 12 as. (1927).*

Mr. Manilal Parekh is well-known as a writer of religious works and this translation by him of Mahatma Devendranath Tagore's book on the subject maintains his reputation as an expounder of serious thought.

THE OUTLAWS OF SORATH : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Saurashtra Press, Ranpur, pp. 138. Paper cover. Price 8 as. (1928).*

In five weeks the first impression of this book, of 2000 copies was exhausted and a second called for and as eagerly taken up : this is a feat even in the sale of Gujarati "best sellers." The compilation consists of the narration of the adventures of fine art of many notable outlaws of Kathiawad. The adventures read like romance and are so well-narrated that one almost falls in love with the freebooters who in certain respects even out-Robin-hood Robinhood. The book is so spiritedly written that one who does not read it, would feel himself the poorer by not having read it. This is the First Part only.

SULTANA RAZIA : *By Sadik. Printed at the Indian Daily Mail Press, Bombay. Thick card board. Pp. 299. Price Rs. 3-8, (1927).*

It is a sumptuously got-up volume and though written in the form of a novel, shows the incidents and events in the life and reign of the Sultana in their true perspective. It is so well-written that we are sure that every reader would like it. A young Mahomedan from Irak writing an Indian vernacular so well is something worth noting.

PRABHAT NA RANG OR THE COLORS OF THE MORNING : *By Vijayrai Kallianzar, B.A. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmadabad. Cloth bound, pp. 240. Price Rs. 2-4, (1927).*

Before his advent in the field of the literature of criticism, as the editor of the Kaumudi, Mr. Vijayaraj had done a lot of spade work. The twenty collections from his pen printed in this handsome volume, cover a period of eight years' work and consist of dialogues, stories and humorous sketches. They are all readable articles, some of them thought-provoking. We are so glad that his writings have now been thus brought together in one place.

K. M. J.

MAGAH (BIHARI)

SUNITA : *By Babu Jainath Pati, Mukhtear, Nawada, South Bihar : Printed at the Chitragupta Press, Gaya : 1928, pp. 16 : Price Two Annas.*

Babu Jainath Pati is a well-known Mukhtear of South Bihar, and an accomplished scholar and linguist who does not disdain his mother-tongue. We welcome this little story from him as one of the first publications of its kind in the speech of South Bihar which is current among a population of over six millions, who have already accepted Hindi as their literary language. The story is a slight one, showing the evils of marrying young girls to old husbands. The heroine runs away with a young man, her childhood's friend, and a great social evil is in this way exposed. The picture of some aspects of society in the Magah land as painted here is no doubt faithful, but there is not much characterisation.

With us, the value of this little work is primarily linguistic, but we hope the author will give us longer and equally faithful and preferably more pleasing pictures of life and society in South Bihar. An attempt like the present one is sure to be remembered among future students of Indian language and of social ethnology for the linguistic and the social material it preserves. Chap-books and popular books of verse are sometimes printed in Magahi for the masses who do not feel at home in High Hindi or who love the accents of their mother-tongue more than that of the speech of the law-court and the school, but only through a conscious literary effort like the present one that a neglected language can make a stand against the danger of being swept away.

It is perhaps too late in the day to think of creating a new literature in Magahi, especially when its speakers both educated and uneducated have no sense of pride in it and are seemingly a little ashamed of their 'little language' which they are making haste to substitute by an indifferent kind of Hindi, a mixture of High Hindi and Awadhi. But if some Magahi writer can lay open for us the soul of the Magahi people through works (poemess, dramas or novels) in their own language, he would certainly add a new world to the rich and varied domain of Indian literature. And Mr. Jainath Pati, scholar, man of affairs and lover of his people and his language, can very well be that Magahi writer.

S. K. C

ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES: THEIR RELATIONS

THERE is a history of the writing of the history of the United States, and the end of the long story is the triumph of British diplomacy,—a diplomacy conducted for three generations not only by the Foreign Office and its avowed agents, but also and mainly by the leaders of English society and thought with a marvellous singleness of purpose, patience and foresight. The War of American Independence (1775-83) had embittered the feelings of the colonists towards the Mother Country and the bitterness was further aggravated by the naval war with England in 1812-1814.

Every patriotic school-boy in America was taught, every fourth of July orator proclaimed in every American town once every year, that England was an insolent aggressive tyrant and the enemy of human progress and human freedom, that George III was the Red Dragon, that the British Parliament was a den of all political vices and servility. This stage of the relations between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race finds its expression in the classic pages of Bancroft. To that American historian, the War of Independence was as Marathon to the Greeks or the Crusades to a pious Christian—a holy war for the liberation of mankind. The present writer still remembers how his pulse quickened when he, as a lad of fourteen, read for the first time Bancroft's narrative of the repulse of the third assault on Bunker Hill:

Then there were moments of joy in that unfinished redoubt and behind the grassy rampart, where New England husbandmen, so often taunted with cowardice, beheld veteran battalions quail before their ranks."

In Bancroft's History, as in Macaulay's there is no light and shade, all the characters are either angels or villains, and all the angels are on one side.

This legacy of bitter hatred continued unabated up to the Civil War of 1861-65, in which two affairs—the *Trent* and the *Alabama*—so roused feelings on both sides of the Atlantic that but for the supreme courage and Jove-like calmness of Lincoln and Gladstone, there would have been a renewal of war between England and the

United States. Thoughtless people—unhappily in the upper ranks of society in England,—openly sympathised with the Southern secessionist States and predicted the dissolution of the American Union. English military circle (still aristocratic) laughed at the cowardice of the American citizen soldiers, while the labouring classes in Lancashire starved from the stoppage of the American cotton supply. The exasperation of feeling on the other side of the Atlantic found expression not only in Bankum orations urging the Republic to twist the tail of the British lion, but also in the sedate J. R. Lowell's article "On a certain note of condescension in foreigners"—the last sentence of which is significant. But John Bright and the Radicals in England supported the anti-slavery North from the outset, and Gladstone openly declared himself on the same side in his article "Kith beyond Sea" and denounced war between the two branches of the English people as a crime against civilisation. He took the situation firmly in hand, and at last his infinite patience was rewarded by the settlement of the Alabama dispute by arbitration. England was heavily fined, but every guinea of this compensation brought a thousand-fold return when the United States entered into the World War on the side of England in 1917.

Hitherto America's only wars had been the two against England (in 1775 and 1812), and the Civil War (1861-65), which last the nation naturally thought it politic to forget. The only means of exciting the martial ardour of the youth of the States was to refer to and magnify the incidents of the wars with England. Thus, the sore was kept open for more than a century after the War of Independence had been closed by the Peace of 1783. The English papers, therefore, could not conceal their joy when in 1898, America declared war against Spain and launched on a career of colonial expansion. Thank Heaven! here at last was an enemy other than the English, against whom future authors and orators in the States would be able to bluster. Therefore, Lord Salisbury publicly praised American aggression and sneered at Spain as "a dead

nation." [Spain's retort was a telegram of condolence "from a dead nation" to the British Prime-minister after one of the usual holocausts in the Boer War of 1901].

The cousins on the two sides of the Atlantic were brought closer together by the rise of Theodore Roosevelt, an imperialist after the heart of Lord Curzon, but, by a freak of fortune, born a republican citizen. This big game hunter and traveller (President 1901-1909) captured the imagination of the American populace and the English rejoiced when he gave a good conduct certificate to England's government of India, which had hitherto been suspect to the average American newspaper reader.

There was now formed a secret understanding between the very *highest* circles in England and the U. S. A., though the latter still found it necessary to placate the American voter by pretending in public to bait the British lion. Ignorance of this secret was the undoing of Sir Mortimer Durand. In diplomacy with Asiatic powers, he had succeeded wonderfully. But when at the height of his fame he went to Washington as British ambassador, he, honest man, took his stand on his country's treaty rights and the recognised diplomatic amenities, and protested against America's threats and insults. What was the result? He was recalled by his masters! British diplomacy—like every diplomacy that wants to succeed,—had its eyes fixed solely on the main chance, regardless of kicks and frowns. Durand had not been given the hint and he came back a disappointed and broken down man, and England pursued her "world-policy" unhampered.

There was however, one source of trouble, the Irish Americans who had inherited, bitter hatred of England from their fathers that had migrated from Ireland after the potato famine of 1845. Some of these with the military experience gained in the Civil War, had gone back to Ireland and caused the Fenian outbreak of 1868. That rising had failed because there was no affinity between the wide-awake city-bred Yankee Fenians and the sleepy rural Catholic peasantry of Ireland. But Parnell's campaign found a wide response and lavish money aid among the Irish descendants in America, and the papers of the latter kept whipping American public feeling up against England,

almost repeating the language of the days of the War of American Independence.

Sir Horace Plunkett was sent out from England to counteract this propaganda. He met many of the Gaelic Americans and told them of the economic prosperity which Mr. Balfour's administration had given to Ireland, of the progress of co-operative dairy farming and the lace industry under Government support and guidance, of the improvement of the peasant's lot by Liberals and Conservatives alike, since the First Gladstone ministry. The reply he received from an old Irish emigrant was, "All that you say may be true. But I have taught my son to fight against England when the day comes as I am myself too old for it."

Even the Irish problem was at last settled by the granting of Home Rule. At all events, from the beginning of the present century the friends of England have outnumbered the Anglophobes in the States, as also in France. Between the United States and England the cultural affinity is too strong to be resisted; language, religion, political outlook and to a great extent blood also are the same, and have produced their effect. The cultural courting of America by the entire Society and press of England has gone on with increasing force to our own day. The American naturally feels the rich parvenu's eagerness to be recognised by the older Society of the Mother Country, especially as he has not to make any political sacrifice for it. England is more than willing to pat him on the back, and (incidentally) sell to him relics and "first editions" at fabulous prices. For nearly two generations the American ambassadors to the Court of St. James have been men of letters, and English Society has set itself to invite them to preside at the birthday celebrations of great English authors and the annual meetings of learned bodies. The *Times Literary Supplement* assumes an unwonted tender tone in reviewing the rotten cribs compiled by American professors and is judiciously silent about their defects. Woodrow Wilson's speeches and Col. House's letters have been received in England with ecstasy, as gems of thought and style. Conducted tours *en masse* of the American middle class,—which are the rage now,—have completed the work.

The future is being insured by the re-writing of American history which is now an accomplished fact. Professors Osgood

George Beer and Van Tyne, by their researches among the original materials, have honestly come to the conclusion that the Mercantile System was not a real hardship to the colonists, that England in the events leading up the War of American Independence was more sinned against than sinning, that the story of British tyranny and atrocity towards America is mythical, and that a political separation between the mother country and its American colonies was inevitable and would have come about peacefully even if there had been no war in 1775-83, because the two branches of the English race had been daily drifting more and more apart in social manners, economic interests, political ideals, and outlook upon life. This view has now been accepted by all the historians in America and Europe that really count; so that there is no longer any risk of the young Yankee sucking anti-British venom from his Irish wet-nurse or from his school text-book of "Bancroft without Tears."

Anglo Saxon brotherhood is an accomplished fact and the most potent factor in world-politics today. Mr. Bull, with growing daughters in the South Seas, has, therefore, found it expedient to jilt Mademoiselle Crysanthemum, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has not been renewed after the expiry of its term. Poor Japan, thou art an Asiatic.

Poor Sir Subrahmaniya Aiyar sent a

letter to the American President inviting him to put pressure on the British Government to grant Home Rule *a la Besant* to India. The learned jurist evidently did not include political history among his studies, nor cared to remember that blood is thicker than water.

Prof. S. E. Morison's *Oxford History of the United States* (Ox. Univ. Press, 2 vols, 32 s. net), covers the period from 1783 to 1917. It is written after a minute and critical study of the original sources and even of subsidiary literature, like the discussions and research papers in the historical reviews. The economic and social aspects of history (which are too often neglected in standard works) and the marvellous and many-sided development of the New World have been treated here with adequate care, clearness and length. The narrative of the Civil War is given in lucid outlines which stamp themselves on the memory of even the non-military reader. It is a work that will remain the first authority on the subject for many years to come, and we therefore, regret all the more that its style should in many places be so spasmodic or theatrical. For example, we are not told where how or by whom Lincoln was murdered, but are only taken to his death-bed and dismissed. Elsewhere the allusions are too obscure or local.

C. C. D.

INTELLECTUAL INSINCERITY IN INTER-RACIAL INTERCOURSE

THE "MAGAZINE" MENTALITY

BY HETTY KOHN, B. A. (LOND)

"Evil is wrought from want of thought as well as want of heart."

INTER-RACIAL prejudice does not, of course, rest *solely* upon intellectual insincerity. We are fully aware of the omnipotence of the language factor, which is so fertile a source of ignorance and misunderstanding, and consequently so mighty a divider of races. Moreover, in the case of races where the factors of political interest and economic

competition are also involved, matters are complicated still further. Nevertheless, it is true that mere intellectual insincerity, which, as we have endeavoured to show in the preceding articles, is so great a bane in life, does play a more prominent part in hindering a good understanding and friendly relationship between people of different countries, than is often recognised.

Intellectual insincerity, when applied to

this international question, is a very composite thing, and a thorough analysis of it in all its aspects, would furnish material sufficient to fill a volume. We must content ourselves here with making our analysis as comprehensive and as detailed as is possible within the scope of an article.

To those of us who are born, and go through life, without prejudices against members of other races, it is an ever-present mystery that it should seemingly be so difficult for the majority of our fellow-creatures to acquire that wider outlook which would enable them to realise that their own particular race is not necessarily superior to all others.

Yet, on investigation, we find that the early training of an individual is generally such as is bound to feed his natural vanity, and give him a tendency to look down upon all "foreigners."

Some races and some individuals are more prone to this form of conceit than other races and other individuals, and there are generally definite historical causes to account for it.

The main elements which produce and feed intellectual insincerity as applied to international intercourse, appear to be the following:—(a) Vanity (including the abuse of the natural and admirable sentiment of patriotism) (b) Fear (a nervousness that other races will in some way demoralise us), (c) Conservatism of thought (adherence to stereotyped opinions, based on what was true of an earlier period), and (d) False criteria (the tendency to attach undue importance to non-essentials, and to emphasize the differences, rather than the essential resemblance between the nations).

The point we wish to make is, in ordinary parlance, this: that a large proportion of ordinary people, when they say they "hate" the members of a certain other race or nation, do not hate them at all; they merely *think* they do. By their conversation they are promoters of discord and hatred, which have such disastrous effects. At the same time, however, these people are the *victims* of false thinking, and as victims, should be pitied and enlightened, rather than merely hated. For, as we see daily, hatred begets more hatred, like the chain of murders in a Corsican vendetta.

In order to forestall any possible misapprehension, we wish to point out that this discussion is by no means limited to the

prejudices extant between Indians and Englishmen, though some space will be devoted to that issue. The Englishman is by no means the only one who is prone to prejudice, though it will be shown that he is somewhat in the position of a spoilt child in this matter. The Brahmin, for instance, has also been brought up in the idea that he, the twice-born, is a naturally superior creature. Everyone knows that a boy who has been petted and spoiled in his childhood, grows into an unbearably conceited young man; if the young man is really talented and capable, the more is the pity that he should suffer from this handicap. His admiring relatives and friends certainly show him no true kindness by continuing to shower incense on him every time he does something clever. In fact, the poor fellow will need all the moral fibre he has in him, if he is to withstand the onslaughts of his well-meaning friends.

We proceed to look more closely at the above-mentioned elements of intellectual insincerity as affecting the psychology of our relations with members of other countries.

(a) *The element of vanity.* To love the land of our childhood, and to maintain that in spite of the beauties and wonders of other lands, there is (to us) "no place like home" is a natural sentiment, and this we take it, is patriotism. On the other hand, to affirm that our own country and race monopolise all the virtues, and that no other country has any, is surely overdoing a good thing, and would make the logician shake his head sadly. Many friends (and books) tell us in our childhood that we must cultivate "proper pride" but pride we think, if it exceed the above-mentioned conception of patriotism, is only too apt to become improper, for pride and prejudice go hand in hand, not only in the title of the famous novel, but wherever there are dealings between people of different lands. A man is "proud" of having been born in London, for instance. That is admirable. He means that he considers it a privilege to be a Londoner, is thankful for that privilege, desires to defend that city if need be, and in all respects to prove himself worthy of his beloved birth-place. But is he justified in disdaining all non-Londoners?

In an essay by Sir John Woodroffe, in which the author admits that to himself, as a Westerner, the Gothic cathedrals and the music of Chopin make a stronger appeal than any Hindu temple or music, he says

(and we agree with him): "Naturally, what is our own in literature or art and culture generally appeals to us best. . . But that is no reason to indulge in offensive depreciation of the culture of others." These are matters of taste and association, not opinion.

An English lady entered an office in Cologne shortly after the War, in spite of the notice "No foreigners allowed here." When the official asked her whether she could not understand the German words, she replied: "Oh yes, I read the notice, but I am an Englishwoman, not a foreigner." The poor soul could not realise that there must be people in the world who can regard the English as anything so low as "foreigners"! We cannot vouch for the truth of the anecdote, but it well illustrates the insularity of many Britishers of inferior education!

The phenomenon is that many an English person who has had pleasant relations with persons of other countries, even persons who have foreign relatives with whom they are on friendly terms, will indulge in the same kind of talk. Where economic jealousy is not the root of the trouble, the distrust of foreigners is usually quite unreasonable, and is entirely due to ignorance. Since the days of the Napoleonic wars, the Englishman of the "lower" classes had a sublime contempt for, and horror of "Froggy", the Frenchman, and as we know in India, popular prejudices die hard. The writer will never forget the tone of utter and withering scorn with which, long before the War, a school-mate pronounced the words "a German Jew" which the parents of this English school-girl had taught her to regard as meaning something almost too base to belong to human society. An English girl clerk, in all other respects a very sensible young woman, said to the writer in all seriousness: "But, after all there are very few foreigners whom one can trust." Nor could she be dissuaded from her attitude, though, from what she told of her experiences, it did not seem that she had any particular reason to dislike Frenchmen or Italians more than Englishmen. She herself bore a decidedly un-English family name! A junior clerk in a London commercial office, aged 17 (who had left school at the age of 14) said to the writer: "But foreigners are not taught morals, are they? I always thought it is only we Britishers who have manners, and are 'clean'." To hear this from the lips of intelligent English youth, conscientious at his work and fair in

his dealings, a voracious reader of good books, and a budding citizen of the most cosmopolitan city in the world, makes one thoughtful. Another youth, 18 years of age (who had attended a high school, and had passed the London Matriculation) expressed great surprise on hearing that the head of the firm, a Russian Jew, was despatching a telegram to an assistant abroad, congratulating him on the birth of a child. The writer asked the youth why he should be so astonished, as, after all, this was rather a usual thing to do. The youth then said that he had always been told that the Jews were absolutely devoid of human sentiment, and cared solely for money. It was, therefore, a shock to him to see that the chief thought it worth while to spend money on a telegram which was not in the nature of business transaction. From that day onward, he looked upon the head of the firm with quite a different eye!

When this mentality is so usual among ignorant people, and unfortunately also among those who ought to know better, in a country where primary education is compulsory (even though only since 1870), is it any wonder that, in this land of many races, we hear each community uttering such absurdities concerning every other community? In this connection, it is a thousand pities that "improper pride", the fallacy into which legitimate patriotism so easily degenerates, should be actively fostered in the minds of people during their school-days, while their minds are so impressionable. The writer recalls an instance of this during a lesson at school. The teacher had been describing the glories of the British Army and Navy. A girl asked whether it was not true nevertheless that some abuses had crept into these services, as her father had told her that there was inevitably corruption in the army of any nation. The teacher then accused the girl of unworthy sentiments and lack of patriotism, and maintained that the British services were flawless. "But even if there were faults, we ought to shut our eyes to them". No other comment was made, and probably only the questioner and the present writer felt at all dissatisfied with the unintelligent patriotism of the teacher, a lady with a university degree.

Nevertheless, as has been said above, conceit is no monopoly of England. The Brahmins show "proper" (?) pride in despising people of darker complexion than

themselves, and affecting to think even the prettiest brown-skinned babies ugly. The Hindus despise the Muslims because they are not Hindus, and the Muslims despise the Hindus because they are not Muslims. Many Jews, so much disdained by non-Jews mainly because they are Jews, secretly look down on the diet and manners of non-Jews. Why so? Because for centuries they have looked upon themselves as the Chosen People.

A further factor, in this element of vanity, is the fact that we naturally like our own race to be judged by its *best*, but are apt to judge another race by what is *worst* in its religious and social customs, conveniently forgetting that there may be at least a small section of that race striving for better things. This is most unfair, but it is a very common procedure.

Yet a third factor of the "vanity complex" is the unwillingness of people to utter those fatal words "I do not know", when they are asked for information concerning some foreign race.

This is one of the two ways in which eloquence, the subject of the preceding article, is bound up with the question of inter-racial relations. The connection is a very definite one, as far as the ordinary conversation and reading of the ordinary person is concerned. People like to impress their acquaintances by sweeping generalisations about foreign races. Now we know that it is a risky proceeding to make a generalisation of any kind; and yet people who have met, for instance, five or six Roumanians, will glibly tell their friends that *all* Roumanians have such and such characteristics. When the hearers of these generalisations are ignorant of the subject, they believe every word, and repeat it to *their* friends in their turn. The more eloquent the speaker, the deeper the impression which is made on the minds of the hearers. This is how false impressions arise.

(b) *The element of fear.* When in conversation with people who express dislike or distrust of other races, we often detect a certain indefinite nervousness in their minds lest friendship with people of different ideas and customs from those in which they themselves have been brought up, might have a demoralising effect upon themselves. To some extent there is reasonable foundation for such a fear, especially in the case of weak-willed individuals, who, for lack of discrimination, are apt to pick up the less desirable qualities

of their foreign companions. This is a danger we readily admit. Here again, however, there is a fallacy in the argument of those who feel this nervousness for the danger of contamination is a danger which exists not merely in inter-racial relationships, but within one and the same race. Everyone knows that a person of good morals, if his daily work brings him into the association of undesirable companions (his own compatriots) may be tempted to slip down to the level of those companions. A well-educated person, working among the uneducated, may, after a time, unconsciously begin to use the same slang expressions and incorrect grammatical forms which constantly assail his ears. Doctors and nurses, working among mentally defective patients, are apt to become depressed themselves, if they do not take sufficient recreation and change. Therefore, it is grossly unfair to confuse the two issues, and to take for granted that a person of another race is necessarily a person of inferior morals.

A few concrete instances:—

(i) *Indian horror of Western materialism, and the extravagance of women.* Many Indians are so convinced of the gross materialism of the entire population of Europe and America, and especially of the extravagance and immorality of the women, that they think no good can come of association with such people. The origin of this prejudice is only too obvious. (1) Many Westerners are materialistic, and many Western women are extravagant and of lax morals. (2) It is precisely these undesirable types which are brought most to the notice of the Indian public both in newspapers and cinema films. (3) Most Indians have no opportunities of meeting the best types of Europeans and Americans. Such meeting would do much to tone down their horror of Western depravity. Even a visit to the West, if the eyes of the tourist are already jaundiced and pre-disposed to see only the "wrong side", does not necessarily dispel illusions. A middle-aged Hindu merchant visited England on business about four years ago—his first visit. On his return to Poona we asked him for his general impressions. He replied with great heat: "I have only one impression: *my* country worships God, *yours* does not." Argument would have been useless.

It is a comical experience to a woman of the middle classes coming from Europe to live among Indians, to witness the very

genuine astonishment caused to Hindus of both sexes, by her making her own clothes, and cooking. It is only by making an actual calculation of the cost of the material of a dress, and reckoning out how many such dresses are on the average purchased per annum, that it is possible to convince some of our Indian friends that, to be reasonably well-dressed, a European women need not necessarily spend a vast fortune. The cheapness of *saris* as compared with dresses is often overrated, for though it is true that the costly *saris* for wear on festive occasions are only rarely bought, the every-day *saris* contain so much more material than a dress, so we may safely say that on the whole there need not be very much more extravagance on the one side than on the other. Certainly, if a lady have extravagant tastes, and has the wherewithal to gratify them, we may rest assured she will do so, whether in gorgeous *saris* or in diaphanous frocks!

Personally, we think that if the Hindu priests could be brought to abolish the humiliating expiation ceremony, it would contribute to dispel the prejudice attaching to the "materialistic West" in the minds of of the untravelled.

(ii) *Europeans' disgust at the sanction given to polygamy among Oriental nations.* There is no doubt that, among the progressive sections of Oriental peoples, polygamy is on the decrease, and that, especially in India, even within those religions which still countenance polygamy, there are large sections of the community where this retrogressive practice is to all intents and purposes, unknown. The idea of polygamy is nowadays as repugnant to large sections of Indians as it is to the Western nations. Yet, so ingrained is the association between Oriental peoples and polygamy, in the mind of the average European, that it is difficult to persuade him that friendship with people of Eastern countries is not tantamount to moral degradation, or at least to acquiescence with degrading customs. Moral:—If polygamy could, once and for all, be prohibited by law, there might be a slight decrease in prejudice in the year 2128 or thereabouts.

(iii) *A Hindu-Muslim tale.*—The following Hindu-Muslim anecdote, sad but true, is given as an antidote to the last paragraph, Three years ago at the home of the writer in Poona, a function was organised, at which Hindus and Muslims dined together by way of an attempt to pro-

mote social intercourse between the two communities. A Hindu friend, highly educated, travelled, and not at all orthodox who was staying in the house at the time, was asked to join in the function. Sad to relate, he refused point blank to sit down and eat with members of so unutterably despicable a community—a community which was set on being uncivilised and retrogressive, and could not possibly be compared with his own Hindu society. No one should ever force him to pretend to look upon Muslims as his equals. Etc.

THE "MAGAZINE" MENTALITY

The last-mentioned absurdities bring us to the second way in which eloquence obtrudes itself into this theme. The subtitle of this article, "the Magazine mentality," is an expression which suggested itself after perusal of some magazines read absolutely at random, and not with the remotest intention of seeking out references to illustrate any of the points put forward in this series of articles. It has already been shown that the average English youth, *through no fault of his own*, is encouraged by his education to regard himself as a rather superior being. It is the history text-books he studies at school, which, among other things, begin this work, and the sensational fare served out to him in popular novels and magazine stories attractively written, which most effectively carries it on.

It may be argued that the type of inter-racial sentiment in stories is a reflection of what is in demand; this is true, but it should be remembered that the public is guided by what it reads, and that therefore the public is the victim rather than the villain, for the number of short-story writers is always infinitesimal compared with the masses of their readers.

It was difficult to decide whether to include the analysis of this "magazine" mentality, and its mischievous influence, under the heading of the "vanity element" or that of "fear" for the type of stories to which we refer, plays upon both of these feelings.

A few instances of mischievous references to Oriental races, emphasizing the superiority of the British race in a way likely to tickle the vanity of, and *delude the indiscriminating British reader* (and most people are indiscriminating) will help us to understand

whence comes much of the stupid arrogance met with, on the part of English people whether in England, in India, or in the Colonies. The magazines are not, of course, responsible for all the damage, but their influence is too far-reaching to be ignored. We repeat that the following specimens are typical, and were not searched out for purposes of illustration. In fact, it was the preponderance of this type of story which forced itself on the writer's notice in magazines that she was reading for pleasure, and which, in the first place, suggested the present article as a corollary of the two previous ones.

(i) "*Glamour*" by E. Brett Young in *Cassell's Magazine of Fiction*. Agatha, a young American lady, travels Europe with her aunt, "in search of information and glamour."

"They passed on to Egypt, where the most expensive varieties of glamour, like the most expensive varieties of all other kinds of spoof, are to be found. Which is not to be wondered at, seeing that romantic novelists have been thriving for the last three generations on the desert's illimitable freedom, voices from minarets, mystery of veiled women and subtle Oriental perfumes."

Achmet is the guide, who claims to be an Arab of kingly descent. Agatha, already fascinated by the guide's melancholy eyes and dignified bearing, regards her American fiancé, Simeon Jackson as dull. When the guide, whom she has paid out of all proportion, tells her he loves her, she is, of course, properly indignant. However, she then regards the matter in a gentler light, and to make amends, offers him a sum of money he had mentioned as imperative to save his little brother's life. Unwisely she allows him to come up to her room in the evening to receive it. The result is that the two ladies are given notice to quit the hotel, as Achmet happens to be one of the greatest scoundrels in Cairo. The ladies return to Italy. Aunt Martha returns to America in disgust at her niece, who has in the meantime summoned Simeon. Simeon and Agatha are married in Naples. She suggests a trip to Cairo. They stay at the identical hotel. Next morning the flabbergasted newly-wed husband receives the following note from his bride:—

"Forgive me," he read. "It is no good looking for me. I have gone with the only man I love into the desert's illimitable freedom. Forgive and forget."

Then, while the police capture Achmet,

and prepare to bring the repentant bride back again, the following are Simeon's reflections:—

"There is something devilish about this damned 'country', he thought. 'The poor child's not responsible. Glamour—that's the word.'—'To run off with a white man's one thing. But a nigger—' Agatha had never explained to him in her letters that the Egyptians are of Aryan descent."

Our reflections, expressed in plain English, are (a) that the young lady was "asking for trouble," (b) that it was wrong of her to return to Cairo after her wedding, when she knew that Achmet possessed a fascination for her, and (c) that the important element of her bad behaviour was, not the dark complexion of the man with whom she ran away, but the fact that she did elope with another man—on honeymoon, too—which made her deliberately planned action all the more heartless and inexcusable. A further irritating thing about the story is that the only picture in the text is one showing Agatha, looking charming in her white frock, sun-topi and flowing veil, addressing Achmet: the words below the picture are: "You! she said, flashing from her neck to her hair. How dare you speak to me like that?"

The author would probably object to our criticism. We admit that the guide Achmet *was* a rascal, and that, anyway, the whole thing is only fiction, and need not be taken seriously. Our contention is, however, that this is just the kind of thing which appeals especially to the British flapper, and gives her the few ideas she has on Oriental races. The rascally Egyptian guide takes a firm hold of her imagination, the impression is deepened by the attractive picture, and nothing you can say to her will persuade her that all Egyptians, whether educated or uneducated, in fact *all* men of dark complexion, are not Achmets.

(ii) "*The Street of Many Arches*," a £50 prize story, by Gwen Lally and Joan Conquest, in "*The story-Teller*." Lotah, a beautiful girl who has been brought up in the Chinese quarter of the dock district of London, is saved from transportation to China where she would have been forced to live a life of shame in the notorious "Street of Many Arches." Her rescuer is Rex Power, an English artist, who marries her. She is very loving and talented, wears Chinese dress, and knows but little English. She turns out to be an English girl, having—

been saved as a baby in China during the civil wars, by an old Chinese woman.

The last portion of this pretty and well-written romance is, in our view, entirely disfigured by the undue relief and satisfaction of all parties, including the heroine herself, at the discovery that Lotah really had the good fortune to have been born British, and that she is not really Oriental at all. It is with almost unseemly haste that she discards her Chinese dress (in which, we must confess, she looks very pretty in the picture) in favour of a costume befitting an English girl. When the couple had been so happy, even before the discovery, what need for the authoresses to lay such great stress on the fact of Lotah's British extraction?

(iii) *"The Lily Kiss—The Story of a Great Sacrifice,"* by Louise Jordun Miln, in *the New Magazine*. The scene, as in (ii) is in Pennyfields. There is the sympathetic character of a Chinese servant Chung No. The villain is Yang O, the man whose adopted daughter is the heroine, Peach Blossom. Wilfrid Harvey, the English doctor, treats Chung No, half-dead from his master's beating. The heroine (who also turns out to be an English girl) had been rescued by Yang O during the civil wars. It is true that he had been on the point of killing her, but he had saved her on account of the mark of the Celestial luck-lily which was found on the girl's arm. The trend of the authoress' concluding remarks is very similar to that of (ii).

(iv) *A Story of Canada* (exact title forgotten). A young English authoress goes on a holiday to the wilds of Canada in search of ideas for her next novel. In spite of the warnings of her acquaintances, she goes forth on a canoe, attended only by a Red Indian servant and his wife. These servants get drunk, and leave the young lady in the lurch. She is in desperate plight on a small island in the midst of the rapids. What would have happened, had not a gallant young Englishman emerged from the forest at the psychological moment and rescued her, it is hard to say. Romance follows, and the novelist must have had plenty of material for her next book.

Now if the author had left it at that, nothing could have been more charming. But unfortunately the gallant Englishman indulges in a speech, in which he deduces from the incident of the drunken servants,

that skins of all hues ranging from yellow and red, to brown and black, should be abhorred. His logic, if not quite evident to us, was at least persuasive to the heroine, for she murmurs fondly: "Yes, you have taught me a lesson. I shall never again trust myself with any but a white man."

One could continue quoting *ad infinitum*, but the above will suffice for the present purpose.

One somewhat different instance will be appended, namely a case in which anti-Oriental "suggestion" was literally thrust upon a story merely by the coloured advertisement poster announcing the cinema version of it. This was probably deliberate trade exploitation of anti-Oriental prejudice, to attract the masses to the cinema show. The story in question is "Broken Blossoms" included in "Limehouse Nights" by Thomas Burke, describing life in London's "Chinatown." Neither in the story nor in the cinema version is there the slightest anti-Chinese tendency. On the contrary, the hero is a young Chinaman who keeps a small shop in Limehouse. Of gentle disposition and disgusted at the opium-smoking habits of the majority of his compatriots in that district, he leads a quiet, solitary life. Near by, lives a degraded specimen of an Englishman, a drunkard, who ill treats his twelve-year old daughter. One day, when the father has beaten her till she faints, the girl is found lying near the door. The Chinaman takes pity on her, picks her up, and carries her unconscious to his lodging, where, with no ulterior motive, he tends her for some days till she recovers from her bruises. This is the first kindness the child has ever known, and she loves the Chinaman as her natural protector, begging him not to send her back to her father. But the father, pouring the foulest abuse both on the Chinaman and on his innocent daughter, gets the child into his clutches again, and this time she succumbs to wounds inflicted on her by her father in a drunken fit. When the Chinaman sees her dead, he despairs, for affection for the poor child who had loved him so innocently, had sprung up in his heart. He dies by his own hand.

The large coloured poster inviting the public to see this film drama, depicted the moment when the Chinaman takes the unconscious fair-haired girl in his arms. There was no fault to find with the picture from the artistic point of view. Falling almond-blossoms

represented the title of the story. The point is that the *first impression* given to the man in the street, who was unfamiliar with the story, was that the Chinaman must be a villain in the act of abducting a probably unwilling English girl. The story, of course, contradicts the impression made by the poster, but we know how almighty is that first impression!

The element of fear (concluded). In many cases, it would appear to be religious sentiment which underlies the element of fear discussed above. When a person not merely loves his religion, but maintains that his religion is the *only* true one, the natural corollary is that the religions of other races are false, and that the notions of those races are accordingly perverse. When a person really and truly thinks or feels this, it is difficult to say anything to him, for he will merely tell us that we are tainted by laxity and indifferentism, which we delude ourselves into calling by the euphuistic name of tolerance or liberalism. It is herein that, it seems to us, adherence to any religion which claims to be the *only* true one, and does not admit that there are more paths to Heaven than one, is an unprogressive thing. Nevertheless, there *are* religious persons professing a faith which claims to be the only true one (we refer to Christianity) who manage to combine their piety with a love of intellectual fairness in inter-racial intercourse. This very difficult psychological point must be left for profounder thinkers to explain.

We only quote, as an instance of liberalism, a few lines from a book ("The Christ of the Indian Road") by a Christian missionary, Dr. E. Stanely Jones, a zealous preacher who is admittedly and definitely out to convert souls to his own faith:—

"In the forms and customs of Hinduism I think there are five living seeds: 1) That the ultimate reality is spirit, 2) The sense of unity running through things, 3) That there is justice at the heart of the universe, 4) A passion for freedom, 5) The tremendous cost of the religious life."

The role of the iconoclast is easy, but the role of the one (i. e. the missionary) who carefully gathers up in himself all spiritual and moral values in the past worth preserving, is infinitely more difficult and infinitely more valuable. Hence we can go to the East and thank God for the fine things we may find there, believing that they are the very footprints of God. He has been there before us."

(c) *Conservatism of thought.* We accept a stereotyped view of a certain nation, based

on facts which may have been true of an earlier period in the development of that nation, and we do not readily modify that fixed view. The writer has met many Europeans at hill-stations and elsewhere, a large percentage of them born and bred in India, who refuse to realise that changes have taken place for the better, among the Hindus, for instance. The writer is convinced that, in a large percentage of cases, the absurd notions held by these Europeans are not mere affectation, but rest mainly on the fact that those who express them have no knowledge of their Indian neighbours more up-to-date than English novels dealing with the period of the Indian Mutiny. The only Indians they come into contact with, are their domestic servants, their dhobis, and the tradespeople who supply them with food and clothing. Space does not admit of our giving samples of this naivete, though page after page of authentic ones could be produced.

(d) *False criteria.* We undoubtedly tend to attach undue importance, in our dealings with other races, to external manners, which, important as they may be in as far as they affect hygiene, are not the essential thing. The best way is surely to make reasonable allowances, when the manners of other races clash with our own, and to take the advice of a Latin maxim which says "In essential things—Unity; in doubtful things—liberty; in all things—charity" (i. e. tolerance). Of course, while humanity lasts, there will inevitably be quarrels as to where the line between essentials and non-essentials is to be drawn but about the third thing there is no doubt.

Where manners are mere manners, and do not affect health, we advise tolerance and compromise. The Jew, even in Europe, keeps his hat on, to swear in a law-court, while the European takes his hat off. The Japanese is taught to make as much noise, and the Englishman as little noise, as possible, while eating. Are these things worth making a fuss about?

Where manners of a certain race are obviously unhygienic, people who have had the good luck to be brought up on more hygienic lines, can make up their minds to be forbearing: we must admit, though, from bitter experience, that even an excellent person, if he is in the habit, shall we say, of spitting, may become a sore trial to us and that, do what we may, sheer disgust

does occasionally get the better of us. If anything is to be done, let it take the form of a more hygienic training for the next generation while they are still young enough to be trainable!

The other factor is that, while the differences between races are constantly being emphasized—and certainly, for practical purposes, we *have* to take them into account the essential human resemblance between them is mostly overlooked. Leaving cannibals out of the discussion, a man is a *man* first, and everything else comes next.

We have to add one final, important factor. Many a person has in reality far more sympathy with other races and their problems, and a far better opinion of the members of such races, than he will admit to his compatriots. He is *deterred from sincerity by lack of courage*. When at a party or a dinner-table, all those present (your compatriots) are unanimous in their condemnation of a certain race, it takes some courage to be the sole exception, when this difference of opinion quite frequently involves your being treated with icy reserve by one half of the company and with sneering sarcasm by the other half. We personally think that Truth is always worth some sacrifice, but there are many whose moral courage fails them, and who, during the general conversation, will always side with the majority, though afterwards they may confess that they have some intimate personal friends among the race which they have just been condemning with the most sweeping generalisations.

It is so rare to find people who will talk dispassionately on any subject involving other races. If we even mildly protest against any absurd statement, of the kinds discussed above, people immediately grow excited, and accuse us of having "an axe to grind." If we, in our turn, get heated, all is lost. The only way is to smile benignly, and try not to lose our temper!

It is even more galling and painful, when you are conscious that intimate friends, or persons whose good opinion you value, condemn you in their minds, inferring that (because you try to create better understanding with a certain race) you condone or even admire the weak points and *vices* of the foreign race in question! These friends ask you, with a superior air, how you can deny the defects of the race in question, or whether

it is that you intentionally shut your eyes to facts.

The whole point is that no level-headed person does deny them. What we do wish to deny is that many faults of character, even though found in an entire race, are not inherent, but are the results of environment, early training and long traditional habit. This, then, is a hopeful doctrine.

The optimistic aspect of the whole question.

We should not, however, allow ourselves to be engulfed in an ocean of despondency; for there is a bright side to all this trouble. We have succeeded in diagnosing at least a great part of the obnoxious disease of inter-racial prejudice in as far as it rests on intellectual insincerity. Though obstinate and malignant, the disease is not incurable. The diagnosis itself is the first step. Consensus of opinion regarding the diagnosis is the next step, and then the physicians, with the co-operation of the patient, can proceed to apply their remedies. Possibly, one he knows what ails him, the patient can best effect his own cure, if he is really determined to get well.

In the meantime the physicians are already at work, though there are quacks among them who do more harm than good. As in all diseases, prevention is better than cure, and parents, teachers, Scoutmasters, Girl Guide leaders, and members of textbook committees, in short all who have the care of children in their hands, in all countries, have a golden opportunity to keep the minds of the rising generation as free as possible from stupid prejudices. After all, it is wonderful what real, solid education *can* do!

Great changes do not come about in five minutes, nor even in a single generation, but every sustained effort in the anti-prejudice campaign is worth while.

Meanwhile, not only preachers, professors and journalists, but all whose daily work brings them into contact with many people, can merely by their ordinary conversation, exert considerable influence in the direction of a more reasonable inter-racial mentality, while even the humblest of private individuals can, by his example, show the circle of his friends and acquaintances, that he or she, for one, shuns the intellectual insincerity which leads to such narrowness of mind, and creates so much unnecessary bitter feeling.



Seagoing Tricycle has speed of Ten Miles an hour

When he wants an ocean ride, a New York inventor is independent of boats, for he pedals out on his seagoing tricycle. It is sturdily constructed and well balanced on floats. At the time



Motor Tricycle That Rides the Ocean Waves; Securely Balanced on Three Floats, the Rig Can make Ten Miles an Hour, Under Favorable Conditions

being manifest in the mountings prepared for the spheres and in shaping them.



Japanese Craftsmen Are Experts in the Art of Cutting Crystal Balls like This, Using But Two Simple Tools

Crystal Sphere of Fortunes Shows Craftsman's Art

Quartz balls, fashioned by Japanese artisans, are prized for their beauty, symmetry and clearness even if there is doubt as to their revelations. Some of the best specimens are cut with two simple tools as the chief instruments, a piece of steel to round the angular quartz block into a sphere and a bamboo joint to give the final polish. The art of cutting the crystals is handed down from father to son, the skill of the craftsmen

Pictures By the New Woman A.R.A. Mrs. Laura Knight

Mrs. Knight is a daughter of Mr. Charles Johnson, and was born at Long Eaton, in Derbyshire, says *The Illustrated London News*. In 1903 she married Mr. Harold Knight, the portrait-painter, who was a fellow student with her at the Nottingham Art School. "In those days," she recalls (as quoted by *The Daily Mail*), "women were not allowed to paint from the nude, and we had to study such parts of the human form as



A NEGRO MOTHER



"MOTHER AND CHILD"



"A NEGRO FLAPPER"



THE SEA GIRL



"THE CIRCUS GIRL"



WRINKLED FOREHEAD



"Sleep"



"Awakening"

were revealed to us by the school censors. For years I have visited the theatres to draw ballet girls." Her picture in this year's Academy was "Dressing for the Ballet." She first exhibited at the Academy in 1903, and her work is represented in many public galleries in this country, as well as in the Dominions and America. She was

awarded a gold medal at San Francisco in 1915, and served on the jury of the International Art Exhibition at Pittsburgh in 1922. Her studies of colored women, of which we reproduce examples here, were made during another visit to the United States this year. Mr. A. J. Munnings, R. A., has said; I regard Mrs. Knight as the greatest



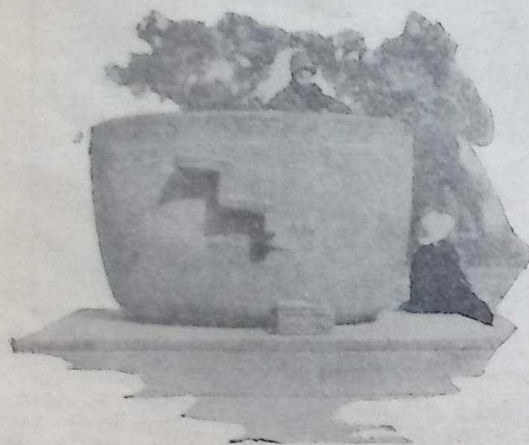
The only woman A. R. A.
Mrs. Laura Knight

painter of open-air and sunlight we have had in this country."

— *The Literary Digest*

Stone Bathtub Five Feet High Shows Style Changes

Stone, instead of porcelain and metal, was the material favored for bathtubs in the days of the



Huge Stone Bathtub Used in India Several Centuries ago: It is Made from a Single Piece of Porphyry

old Indian rulers and the basins were huge affairs with a crude stairway chiseled in one side so that the bather could get in and out of the tub safely. At Agra, India, is a specimen of "plumbing" as known in the time of Jahangir, one of the great moguls. The tub is five feet high, eight feet in diameter and twenty-five feet in circumference. It is fashioned from a single block of porphyry.

Luminous Coat Saves Police from Traffic Accidents

Traffic policemen in Amsterdam wear long coats that reflect light from near-by sources at night, so that motorists and pedestrians may see them more clearly and the officers' signals be more easily interpreted. Barred sleeves also aid in directing traffic.



What the Amsterdam Policeman Is Wearing for Night Functions: the Coat is Easily Seen by Motorists

— *Popular Mechanics*

Science Produces the "Electrical Man"

On a table in the New York office of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company stands an invention that might be mistaken for a

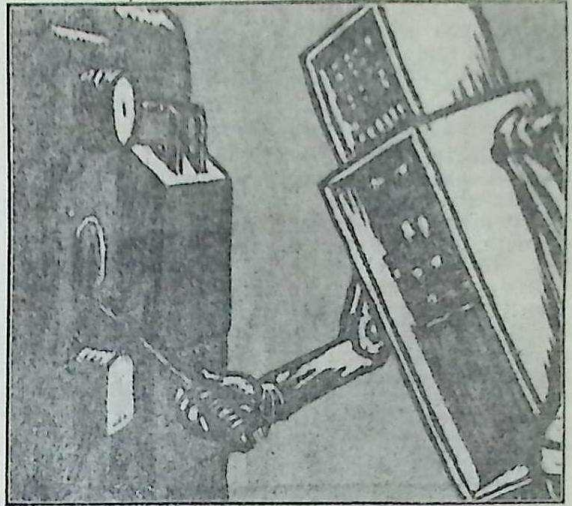
radio receiving set or an automatic telephone switching machine, but is in reality an artificial, electrical man. Here are the familiar radio tubes to amplify feeble currents and the equally familiar desk telephone, but applied to the new purpose of controlling lifeless mechanism that may be in Chicago or even across the sea in London.

When R. J. Wensley, the engineer who designed this electrical substitute for humanity, demonstrated its capabilities recently by ordering it to light and extinguish lamps, start and stop a fan and vacuum cleaner and control a motor, his audience of sober business men imagined itself for a brief hour in that fantastic world of the future beloved of romancers—a world in which men and women will do little more than think and bid automatons to fetch and carry, manufacture the countless things a machine civilization requires, sweep streets, cook, wash and dig ditches. For this particular automaton can be called up on the telephone, asked questions, and given orders which it obeys without the usual human arguing, impudence or procrastination.

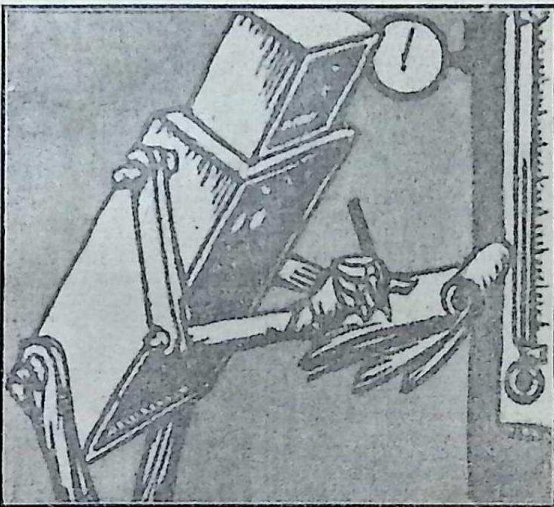
A MECHANICAL SLAVE

Wensley's invention is not a toy or an engineering curiosity, but an electrical slave which was created to meet very definite industrial requirements. Three of his creatures are already working twenty-hours a day, with no vacation, watching the

his electric slave because it responds to vocal orders. As a switchboard engineer he is thoroughly familiar with what is called "supervisory control"



The Mechanical Man



The Mechanical Man

height of the water in three reservoirs that supply Washington, D. C., with water and reporting by telephone to the War Department whenever they are called up. Others will soon control the machinery in automatic substations—little power houses by which central station energy is distributed at the right voltage over a wide territory and in which a man appears but a few times a year to inspect moving parts or to make a few adjustments demanded by changes in load, variations in temperature or the rise and fall of water in a reservoir.

"Televox" is the name that Wensley has given

of substations, a term which means that by reading meters in a central station it is possible to know exactly what is occurring in an automatic substation twenty, fifty, or a hundred miles away. But the remote control of substation apparatus involves the use of special wires, and special wires entail expense. Wensley began to reason thus about the system

CONTROL BY TELEPHONE

"Suppose each substation had its attendants. How could the dispatcher in the central power house control them? Clearly by telephone. He would call them up, receive their reports, and then give them orders. The telephone reaches every nook and cranny. If I could call up the apparatus of a substation, talk to it just as if it were alive, receive its report, and tell it what to do I could dispense with all these special wires and reduce the investment in substations and therefore the expense of distributing power. And if I can make a substation obey the sound of my voice, carried by radio or wire, I can make any piece of apparatus do my bidding, whether it be an automatic drill in an automobile factory or a device for starting the furnace in the home."

Wensley's first obstacle proved to be the regulations of the various telephone companies. No extraneous attachments to telephone instruments or lines are tolerated, and a telephone line may be used by a subscriber only for conversation. The lifeless apparatus at the receiving end of a line had to be endowed with an ear to hear, something like a nervous system to respond to what the ear heard, the equivalents of muscles to carry out a telephoned order, and the faculty to report about itself and the devices under its control.

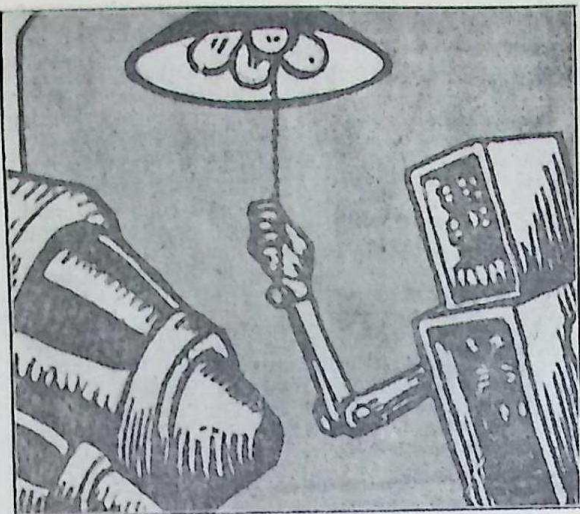
In his East Pittsburgh laboratory Wensley has a televox that answers to the human voice. Call cut "Open Sesame" and a door opens. To no

other combination of human sounds will the door-opener respond. But must the orders be spoken human words? Speech is needlessly complex for the engineer's purpose. Besides, a machine ought to respond to every language—something that no human being can do. "One," "une," "ein" all have the same meaning, but only to an intelligence that understands English, French and German.

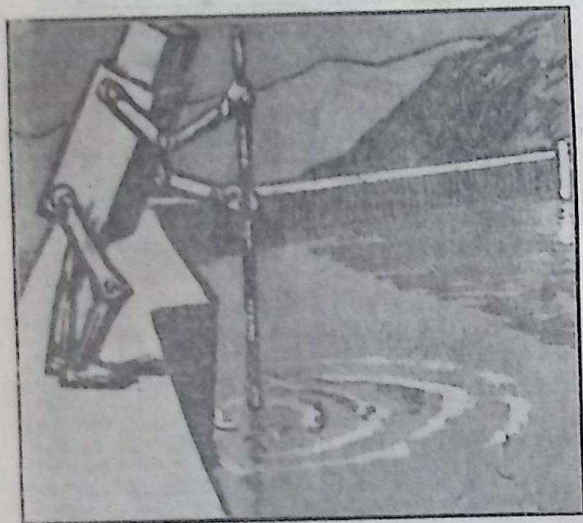
AN ELECTRICAL ESPERANTO

Accordingly, Wensley decided to invent a simplified, universal language which anybody could speak and which could be understood by the listening automaton—a kind of electrical Esperanto. Musical tones constitute such a language. In Wensley's system but three tones are required, and these are generated by electrically driven tuning forks, so that constancy of pitch is assured. If you are a good musician with a perfect sense of pitch you may whistle or sing the tones or blow them on a pipe, and the receiving automaton will respond.

In the dispatcher's office the tones are directed into an ordinary desk telephone by means of a loud-speaker. The automaton at the receiving



The Mechanical Man



The Mechanical Man

end is more complicated. Much like a radio receiving set tuned to a particular broadcasting station it responds only to one of the three tones that happens to be transmitted. By means of amplifiers the energy of the received tone is magnified so that it can operate a relay or switch, which in turn actuates selective mechanism much like that of an automatic telephone.

The method of using this televox system is simple. Suppose that Mrs. Twitchell, who is playing bridge at her club, suddenly becomes concerned about her home. In the corner of the clubroom is a table on which stands a small box surmounted by a telephone, toward which the horn of a loud-speaker is directed. On the face of the box are push-buttons which control pitch pipes or tuning forks, each emitting different note.

By means of the push buttons and the pitch-pipes Mrs. Twitchell talks the electric electrical esperanto that Wensley has invented for her.

Her first step is to ring up "central" in the ordinary way. "Give me Main 2350," she says.

MADAM GIVES HER ORDERS

The telephone operator calls the number. When the bell in Mrs. Twitchell's home rings a sound-sensitive relay lifts the receiver-hook, starts up the station-signal buzzer and sets the whole apparatus for action. She does not have to ask "Is this Main 2350?" She hears a special combination of buzzes which she recognizes as those of her automaton. If she has the wrong number she simply hangs up the receiver. So does the automaton. Then she rings up again, just as if she were calling a living friend instead of an unemotional combination of wires, magnets and vacuum tubes. At last she hears the peculiar combination of tones emitted by the televox of her own home and she is ready to talk electrical Esperanto.

"Tweet" sings one of Mrs. Twitchell's pitch-pipes. In electrical Esperanto this means simply "Hello, stand by for orders."

The televox stops buzzing at once and sends out a series of one-pitch notes meaning "I'm ready. What do you want?"

Mrs. Twitchell's pitch-pipe says "Tweet, tweet." These notes the automaton correctly interprets to mean "Connect me with the electrical stove."

"buzz, buzz, buzz, buz-z-z-z—" the televox replies, which is the same as saying "You're connected. It might interest you to know that the switch is open and that there is no heat."

Mrs. Twitchell pushes another button. "Br-rung. An order that means "Close the switch and start the oven."

The televox stops the long buzz that informed Mrs. Twitchell of the oven's condition, closes the switch, and then gives a short, staccato buzz to notify her that the switch is closed and the oven started.

"Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet" hums Mrs. Twitchell and thus commands "Connect me with the furnace down in the cellar and tell me how hot it is."

Four answering buzzes tell her that she is connected with the furnace and two additional buzzes convey the sad news "It's pretty low."

"Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet—connect me with the draft-opening switch."

Mrs. Twitchell hears five answering buzzes, then a short buzz, the whole perfectly intelligible to her as "You're connected with the furnace draft switch. Permit me to report that the drafts are closed."

"Toot," says Mr. Twitchell, or "Open the drafts."

Back comes a long buzz. "The drafts are opened."

Mrs. Twitchell blows her third pitch-pipe, the same as saying "Thanks. Good-bye." Whereupon she goes back to her bridge game.

Thus Wensley gives her command over an electrical slave that renders service uncomplainingly and unerringly. Her televox can be applied to any piece of household apparatus that can be driven by a motor actuated by an electromagnet or controlled by a thermostat or that can emit a sound. It will tell her if she left the windows open in the living room and then close them at her command, if the postman has dropped any letters in the mail-box, if the children are in the house and if the baby is crying. Her conversation with her televox sounds much like random notes played on a piccolo.

EVEN ACROSS THE OCEAN.

The telephone line transmits and receives simply the sounds of Wensley's artificial musical language. Hence no electrical connections with the telephone are needed. You can take the transmitter and loudspeaker to London, if you like, and buzz your orders to the televox in the United States or Cuba that happens to be in tune.

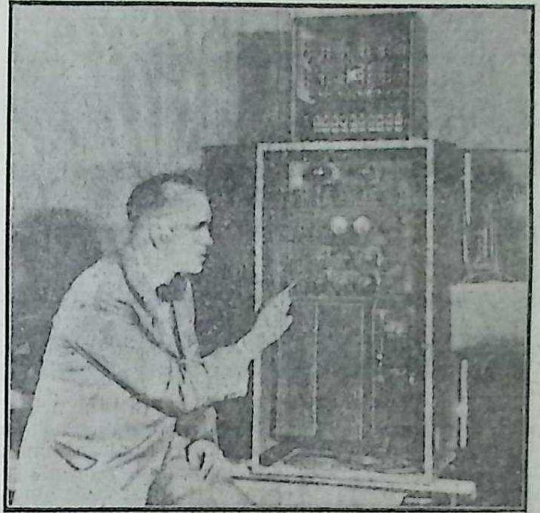
In Washington, D. C. an official in the War Department calls for a relay connected with a water-level indicator. As soon as the connection is established the relay reads of the water level by an appropriate number of buzzes. If the water is too high in one reservoir it is partly diverted into another by calling for another relay which controls the motors whereby gate-valves are opened.

What if the televox should be crippled? It simply emits a howl for help when it is called—all that a human being could do under similar circumstances.

Since the televox was devised primarily to meet the demands of automatic substation control it will find an extensive application when central stations are generally connected into what are called "superpower" systems. Even now it is possible to switch electric energy from our distant city to another in whole groups of States. By 1930 power will be pooled to form a great reservoir that will be tapped anywhere as it is required. If Niagara's factories are closed at night energy will be sent to New York, if need be, to run trolley cars during the rush hour. A few gigantic power plants, packed with turbines and generators of unprecedented output will take the place of hundreds now required to light cities and turn the wheels of

factories. What will become of the old plants? They will be reduced to the status of substations—automatic substations controlled by high-pitched musical notes and giving commands to televox automata.

It is no wild dream to imagine all the States east of the Mississippi supplied with current under the control of a single dispatcher located in Cleveland. At his elbow are as many telephones as a stock broker requires. Before him is a televox about as big as the average telephone switchboard of a hotel. Its buttons control the usual tuning forks or pitch-pipes. A lamp glows—a signal from Station 31. "Something is wrong in Philadelphia," says the king of the switchboard—power dictator of the Eastern United States. He plugs in a jack, puts the telephone receiver to his



Creator of the Mechanical Man

ear and listens. Four long buzzes and two short. "Thunderstorm in Philadelphia. The sky is black. More light is needed." Whereupon the power dictator switches electric energy from Miami, where the sun is blazing, to eastern Pennsylvania.

Wensley's televox assumed the form of a sound controlled automaton simply because of the wide distribution and convenience of the telephone. The selectors that operate motors and electromagnets at the receiving end and thus open doors and valves, announce the temperature of a room, buzz the information that water in a reservoir is too high by four feet, might be influenced by any form of radiant energy. A photo-electric cell is to light what the telephone is to sound; it converts light into electricity. Flash a light in front of such a cell and electric impulses can be sent through space or over a wire to affect automatic devices.

The bolometer is an artificial sense organ that feels heat. It can measure the temperature of a man's face at the distance of a mile. Move your hand in front of a bolometer forming part of an electric circuit and again it lies in your power to start and stop remote machinery. Or send radio signals to a receiver mounted at any convenient

point and you can steer a torpedo on its deadly course, guide a crewless submarine.

Wensley's invention effectually disposes of the Robot type of automaton dear to writers of fiction and plays, or the artificial man created by a Frankenstein. There will never be a Robot—a brainless, tireless, unemotional mechanism fashioned in the image of a man, performing all the functions of a man, moving about stiffly but surely, pulling levers, turning control wheels, wielding broom, pick or shovel. Medieval contrivers frittered away their talents in constructing lifelike automata that could write a name and play a tune or two, and that outwardly resembled Robots. The modern engineer has no patience with such fantastic creations.

CONCERNED WITH FUNCTIONS

Man is a highly complex organism adapted to live in a highly complex environment. In a factory in an artificial environment, he is 99 per cent. useless. So long as he sits at a machine he might as well be legless. So long as he does nothing but feed bars of steel into a machine he might as well be earless and noseless.

For that reason engineers like Wensley are not concerned with mere imitations of men, but solely with a few functions that men are called upon to perform under special circumstances. An automatic shoe-peggng machine is not expected to play the grand piano. Linotypes, printing presses, trolley cars, sewing machines, the hundreds of automata in daily use are very human in their deliberately limited way, but they never look human.

LIMITATIONS OF A ROBOT

To drive home the limitations of an actual Robot, let us assume that an engineer undertook to construct one and to endow it with as many human talents as possible. The machine would, of necessity be brainless, because even the most ingenious technologist cannot make a collection of wheels, shafts, magnets and wires think. But it could move, hear, see and feel under human control. Instead of legs its creator would give it wheels for simplicity's sake—wheels which would be driven by electric current supplied either by a battery or a little dynamo mounted within what might be called the "trunk." Its eyes would be photo-electric cells that would resemble the familiar vacuum tubes of a radio set and would perceive minute differences of light and darkness. Its ears would be telephone receivers, so that it could hear and respond to spoken or musical commands in accordance with Wensley's system. A thermostat would enable it to feel heat, so that if the temperature rose above a critical point it could automatically walk, or rather roll, away to cooler surroundings.

It could be endowed with a limited sense of touch, so that it could feel the difference in thickness between a sheet of paper and a block of wood. It would probably have six or seven arms for simplicity's sake, paradoxical as that may seem. A living, human arm is much too complicated; it is both sense organ and tool. Some of the Robot's arms would be strong enough to lift weights of perhaps fifty pounds and would be miniature cranes; others would be mere tubes with claws and fingers mounted in ball-and-socket joints; still others would be mere hooks. In other words, the engineering Frankenstein would analyze the principle functions of the human hand and arm as

a tool-grasping and tool-using device and then proceed to invent separate mechanical equivalents of the requisite number.

Within the trunk of this Robot—a box-like trunk—would be a collection of selectors that would control locomotion and the movements of the half dozen arms with their hooks, claws and fingers. Open the trunk (there is a little door at the back) and you see within a maze of magnets and wires that suggest the mechanism of an automatic telephone system or the interior of an adding machine. The selectors are connected with the photo-electric cells that constitute the creature's "eyes" (placed one in front and one back of the machine) and with the telephone "ears," so that either flashes of light or sounds could energize the proper circuits and thus govern the movements of the many arms or of the wheels that serve for locomotion.

AN IMAGINED "ALGERNON"

Call this creature "Algernon". order it about by name, it would nevertheless be little more than a huge electro-mechanical doll. In order that it may move with certainty from room to room its wheels would run on rails. In response to a command flashed by a light (to which the photoelectric "eyes" would be sensitive) it could drag a vacuum-cleaner over a restricted path, turn the gas on and off in the kitchen oven, open and close windows, push an electric switch button to start and stop a motor in the home or the factory, and perform perhaps a dozen very simple operations dependent on pushing, pulling, lifting and twisting.

The household or the factory would have to be adapted to the creature's limitations. Furniture or machines, for example, would have to be so placed that its movements would not be hindered; switches would have to be located near the tracks on which it moved. It would have to be so constructed that having executed a command to lift the baby in its crib and carry it from the nursery to the living room it would automatically return "as you were" to its station in the butler's pantry there to await new orders from a flashing light or from a loud-speaker.

"Algernon" would not be a thing of beauty. He would not even suggest a man. In fact, he would simply be a box mounted on something that would be like a tea-table running on a narrow-gauge railway track. He would not have a "head", for his "eyes" and his "ears" could be placed anywhere on the box. Probably he would have four or five feelers or antenna which would enable him, insect-like, to grope his way and which, at the slightest contact with an obstruction in his path, would cause him to stop dead and thus avoid a collision.

NO RESEMBLANCE TO A HUMAN

As soon as we have our Robot we see his hopeless inferiority to an automobile, a reaping machine, a shoepegger, or any of the countless contrivances that perform one task well. Study any machine or any scientific instrument. Invariably it proves to be either a simple artificial muscle or an artificial sense organ. What is an electric crane but a huge arm and fist of steel hundreds of times more powerful than human biceps? What is the folder of a printing press but the equivalent of a hand? Look at the knot-tying mechanism of a reaper as it travels along in a field of wheat. What is it but the equivalent of the three fingers

of a single hand ingeniously adapted to manipulate a piece of twine? So it is with every automatic machine.

The inventor invariably analyzes motions and then synthesizes. Wensley's automaton, which is about as human as technical ingenuity can conceive is such an analyzer and synthesizer. It performs half a dozen very human functions, but always separately and in sequence. Synthesis follows when it collects its information and imparts it to the listening ear at the distant of a telephone. Functions alone interest the engineer and inventor. Because he requires the performance of few functions his automata bear no resemblance to human beings.

—The New York Times

Vesuvius A Great Laboratory

How Vesuvius has contributed to our knowledge of volcanic action through its accessibility and the consequent establishment on or near it, of institutions for the scientific study of its phenomena, is told by Charles Fitzhugh Talman, in an article contributed to the *New York Times*. Were Vesuvius located in the Andes or on some isle of the South Seas, says Mr. Talman, its eruptions frequent and spectacular as they are, would attract little notice from a busy world. There are more than 400 nominally active volcanoes on the face of the globe. Many of them have been in modern times the scene of outbreaks compared with which all modern eruptions of Vesuvius were tame in the extreme. He proceeds:

"Because Vesuvius is in the midst of a dense and civilized population it is a notorious danger spot, and its doings are of universal interest. Along the shores of the Bay of Naples it has repeatedly spread ruin and terror. Naples itself is panic-stricken whenever the wrath of the volcano is aroused.

"The last notable eruption of Vesuvius began on April 4, 1906. Between that date and April 21 there took place one of its greatest outbreaks, remarkable especially for the destruction wrought by the overwhelming fall of ashes. There were also severe earth-quake shocks. The people of Naples were so terrified that more than 100,000 fled from the city, and processions constantly filled the streets, imploring the intercession of the saints. The city was wrapt at times in profound darkness and so heavily showered with ashes that some roofs gave way under the load. The cloud of ashes rose to a height of 12,000 feet, and dust fell in Constantinople and Paris.

"In ages past Vesuvius was vastly larger than it is to-day, and probably had many violently explosive outbreaks at intervals of several centuries.

"The explosive eruption that destroyed Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae in 79 A. D. was the earliest of which any record has been preserved. The last great outburst of this type occurred in 1631, when about 18,000 persons lost their lives.

"Since then the character of the volcanic activity at Vesuvius has changed. Instead of producing great explosions at long intervals, the crater is more or less continuously but not uniformly active. Small eruptions occur every few years, and in the intervening periods of repose

there are generally some signs of mild activity. The years 1766-67, 1779, 1791, 1822, 1872, and 1906 were marked by relatively strong outbreaks. The volcano remained exceptionally quiet for seven years after the eruption of 1906.

"The proximity of Vesuvius to a civilized community is an advantage as well as a disadvantage. Vesuvius is easy of access to scientific observers and has been under constant investigation for generations. Because of its accessibility, small size, comparative freedom from danger, diversity of eruptive phenomena and rich mineralogy, it has earned the nickname 'cabinet volcano.' Every paroxysm of activity provides opportunities for substantial additions to the data of volcanology.



Looking into the Crater of Vesuvius

"The world possesses two great centers of volcanological research. One is at the crater of Kilauea, in the Hawaiian Islands. The location is, however, far remote from the familiar haunts of scientific humanity, and the volcanic phenomena that occur there are much less varied than are those occurring at Vesuvius.

"The other leading center of volcanic research includes not only the well-known Royal Vesuvius Observatory, which has been in operation for more than eighty years, but also certain near-by institutions in Naples. In the latter city is the Volcano Institute, founded in 1914 by Dr. Immanuel Friedländer. At the University of Naples are the offices of the Section of Volcanology of the International Geodetic and Geophysical Union. An extensive international library and museum of volcanology is being assembled here.

"The Vesuvian Observatory, maintained by the Italian Government, stands on a ridge west of the central cone, where it has escaped the lava flows in the adjacent valleys, but has been much shattered by the earthquakes attending eruptions. Its first director was the celebrated Melloni, who died in 1854. His successor, Palmieri, remained at his post during the violent eruption of 1872. The next director, Matteucci, did likewise during the outbreak of 1906, and his subsequent death was hastened by the breathing of volcanic ash at that time.

"During their heroic vigil on the mountain the

volcanologists sent daily bulletins, by wire of courier, to Naples and the other Vesuvian towns, which were printed in poster form and prominently displayed. These reports from the front had most reassuring and steadying effect upon the population, who argued that if men could live on the volcano itself at such a time, the danger could not be serious elsewhere."

The eruption of 1906 blow off about 350 feet of the summit of Vesuvius and enlarged the crater, Mr. Talman tells us, "Near the center of the crater rises the 'eruptive conelet,' which marks the summit of the volcanic vent. In the eruption of which telegraphic news has just come to hand the lava in the now shallow crater overflowed the eastern rim into a depression called the Valle dell' Inferno (Valley of Hell), and some of it flowed through ravines in the outer wall of the big prehistoric crater (Monte Somma) into the adjacent

country, threatening the village of Terzigno." To quote further.

"Back in the year 1911, when the crater was still nearly 1,000 feet deep, volcanologists began a series of audacious descents to the crater floor, scrambling down the almost perpendicular walls with the aids of ropes. In May, 1912, Prof. Alessundro Malladra, Vice-Director of the observatory, made the first of the numerous ascents by which he won high renown throughout the scientific world. The almost overcome at times by the heat and gases, Malladra and his companions remained for hours at a stretch within the crater taking photographs, measuring temperatures and collecting samples of gases and minerals. In recent years, with the building up of the crater floor, access to it has become easy, and it has been visited by numerous investigators."

The Literary Digest.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

By N. N. SIRCAR

OWING to recent occurrences this subject, which is of great importance at all times, is drawing pointed attention of all persons interested in the welfare of students. About those occurrences I have no first-hand information, and regrettable as they are, I desire to say nothing about them. Which party is to be blamed, or whether the blame is to be allocated to both parties is outside the scope of this contribution, which is directed to discuss the question from a broad point of view.

Before considering the question whether students ought to participate in politics, it is worthwhile to clear the ground by stating that considerations applicable to other students in other countries may not be wholly applicable, to the narrower issue discussed here, viz., whether students in Calcutta Colleges should take active part in politics.

What is found desirable for an English boy in Oxford may be wholly inadvisable for a Calcutta College boy.

To clarify our thoughts let us try to put ourselves as far as possible in the position of one who, having matriculated in, say, Mymensing or Birbhum, is taken out of his home, and transplanted to a Calcutta Hostel or Students' Mess. The boy has been bred up in the normal surroundings of his home-life—

family life which is the cradle of social affections, where the first elements are acquired of that tenderness and humanity which cements mankind together. Obedience to parents, affection for brothers and sisters, taking part in the usual social and religious functions, the attendant discipline, the small daily sacrifices for others, and a thousand other constituents make him part of a complex organism. He is violently detached from this organism as if by a clean surgical operation and he is sent out for his academic career to the soulless monster of a huge city.

The average boy is not sent to Calcutta, because he is a scholar keen on acquiring scholarly attainment for its own ends but because in the average case his parents require him to take the B. A. or M. A. degree, as in Bengal that is the only key to open the gates of livelihood—the legal or the medical profession or Government Service. In the vast majority of cases the needy parents are pinched and straitened as the result of keeping the boy in College. The privations fond parents in the interest of their sons are prepared to bear, are a matter of common knowledge and experience.

Cut off from the restraining influences of home-life, the boy has now come to live in

the city of dreadful night, amidst conditions most antagonistic to moral well-being.

Unless the boy is an idler he has a strenuous life before him. He spends laborious hours, in getting up lecture notes and going through Keys and Annotations. His time is passed with Addison and Shelly, Burke and Hume—foreign ideas delivered in a foreign language. His work is mainly 'grind and cram' which is inevitable where the main object is to do well in examinations.

He lives, in fact, in an artificial and unreal world bending down under the weight of examinations while his Anglo-Saxon brother, in the hospital, the mine, the factory or the architect's office, starting young, is going through his apprenticeship stage by stage, giving scope to his practical capabilities for increasing and developing in the direction requisite for his future task and the special work for which he desires to fit himself.

It is well-known and I remember having read the exact figures in one of the issues of the *Modern Review* that in India the percentage of boys joining the University; out of those who have matriculated, is greater than the corresponding percentage in England (substituting School Finals for Matriculation).

It has also to be remembered that the education of our boys is divorced from religion. If every Indian boy does not turn out to be a cold-blooded atheist and a rank materialist, it is because the influences of heredity, family life and the atmosphere in which he had his being, save him from that end. His reserve fund is sufficient to leave him a balance, after continuous debit during his academic career. In his leisure hours, what is the recreation of the average boy?

He devours with keen appetite the tasty meal which is supplied in the columns of the daily papers—papers which for obvious reasons devote an unduly large part of their reading matter to politics, and politics alone.

The popularity of a paper depends on the hotness of the stuff served by it, on the temperature of the air it breathes out, and on the mercilessness of its attacks on its political opponents and persons in authority.

Subjects of the most vital importance to our well-being, and even to our existence as a community, receive such negligible attention that the young reader may be excused if he comes to believe, that physical fitness, development of trade, industry and commerce, and other vital matters are mere

trivialities compared to the dismissal of a Minister or the removal of a Statue.

The last and not the least of the important factors influencing the student's life, consists in the fact that, on coming to Calcutta, he has become one of a 'herd' or a 'crowd'. Neither of these words is used in any contemptuous or derogatory sense. They are used to convey the idea that the boy has become one of many who are gathered together for purposes of action or observation.

In this sense, the members of Parliament of one of the parties is as much a herd or a crowd, as students assembled in a Hostel or in College Square.

From the mere fact of assembling together there results new psychological characteristics, which may add to or differ very materially from the average characteristics of individual constituents of the 'crowd'.

This subject has recently been keenly discussed by some thoughtful and brilliant writers, but with the limited space in my command, a digression into this interesting topic is hardly possible. There are some conclusions in which all writers agree and which are borne out by experience.

The crowd is dominated by considerations of which it is unconscious. These considerations may be better or worse than those of the individual, explaining no doubt the fact that a crowd is often as easily more heroic or more criminal than its average constituent. "They turn aside from evidence that is not to their taste, preferring to deify error, if error seduce them. Whoever can supply them with illusions is easily their master. Whoever attempts to destroy their illusions is their Victim" (Gustave Lebon). "Given to exaggeration in its feelings, a crowd is only impressed by excessive sentiments. An orator wishing to move a crowd must make an abusive use of violent affirmations. To exaggerate, to affirm, to resort to repetitions, and never to attempt to prove anything by reasoning, are methods of arguments well-known to speakers at public meetings."

When addressing a crowd, an effective orator hardly ever makes the mistake of appealing to its 'reason'—and sentiment is only the factor that counts.

If an individual student (to take an example) had been approached, and asked to go bare-footed in honour of Khudiram Bose, the chances of his acceding to the request would have been small. With

the ground previously prepared by suitable means, an orator haranguing a College Square crowd will meet with little difficulty in carrying with acclamation a resolution for erecting a statue to Khudiram.

The fact that our teachers are paid wages which are scandalously low has a direct bearing on the causing of political ferment in students.

Most of the teachers are men who after wasting the best part of their lives in laborious grind, find that the rosy pictures of youth have vanished. Their entry into life has been followed by painful falls and bruises which have left wounds, which make them bitter against everybody all round.

Political incitements will always find a receptive soil in immature and emotional minds and here in India the soil is still more favourable owing to present economic conditions. The half-starved man cannot have the complacency and the philosophy of his more fortunate brother, who is at peace with the world, and with his neighbours, after having done justice to a hearty meal. The average Bengali student lives in an atmosphere of bitterness and impotent rage. He cannot help noticing that trade and commerce are in the hands of non-Bengalis—and whether they are Marwaris, Bhatias or Britishers—they are not Bengalis. Even in humbler spheres of life, like those of the Mistri, the sweet-meat vendor or even the bullock-cart driver, the Bengali has been cut out by outsiders from Bengal. The conditions, the surroundings and the situation of the Bengali college student has no resemblance to that of the English boy who proceeds from London to Oxford. All circumstances tend to "impart to the mind of our boys a premature bias towards politics."

It is no good controverting the fact that we are emotional to an exaggerated degree. I am far from crying down emotion. It will be a sad day when our youths will discard all emotion and be converted to worship only cold and calculated reason. "Were people to be credited with great actions performed in cold blood, the annals of the World would register but few of them." It is not by reason, but most often in spite of it, that are created those sentiments that are the mainsprings of civilisation—sentiments such as honour, self-sacrifice, religious faith, patriotism and the love of glory. It is, however, a question of degree,

and the comparatively more phlegmatic and less emotional boy has been behind none in either self-sacrifice, patriotism or the love of glory. With us, however, the excessive volume of emotion probably explains its transitory character.

The vows taken at 'Suehalata' meetings, the promises made to support boycott movements are but instances of the staying power of emotions with us. The student may be excused, if he does not behave better than his elders.

If these are some of the salient facts bearing on the situation of college students in Calcutta, what is desirable for them in the matter of politics in their own interest?

No one claims, in recent times, a better knowledge, or greater experience of University students at Calcutta than the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji. His method of action in certain particular matters may be the subject of controversy but who can deny that there is hardly another, who has devoted so much time, energy and thought to our University students?

In 1909, alluding to the incidents of the previous year he

"Maintained without hesitation that the most strenuous efforts must be unfalteringly made by all persons truly interested in the future of the rising generation to protect our youths from the hands of irresponsible people, who recklessly seek to seduce our students from the path of academic life and to plant in their immature minds the poisonous seeds of hatred against constituted Government."

Speaking of teachers he said that

"Even the teacher who scrupulously abstains from political matter in his class-room, but at the same time, devotes much or all his leisure hours to political activities and agitation, and whose name and speeches are prominently before the world in connection with political organisations and functions, fails in his duty towards his pupils: for their minds will ever be attracted towards political affairs and political agitation if they evidently constitute the main life-interest and life-work of one who stands towards them in a position of authority."

In the clearest language more than once Sir Ashutosh condemned the imparting to the minds of our boys a premature bias towards politics.

Those young men who have been converted to the belief that pursuing an academic career is not to the best interests of the country, should have the courage to act up to their conviction, and give a wide berth to the University.

To those, however, who desire an academic

career, pursuit of politics, or taking active part in it, or being used as 'common fodder' in the campaign started by those who believe that universal unrest and overthrow of all discipline is in the highest interest of the nation,—will end in injuring that academic career which is the main object of joining the University.

If they want to serve the country, if they think that the methods of their elders are servile and unpatriotic, they will be all the more efficient in gaining their object if they postpone their activities till their academic career is finished.

I do not feel competent to give any 'directions' to students but as one who has

always taken interest in their welfare, I offer my opinion for their deliberate consideration. That opinion may shortly be expressed that in the present circumstances his mental attitude ought to be—"I shall have as little to do with participation in politics as possible until my academic career is finished."

It need hardly be stated that active participation in politics, is altogether different from academic knowledge of politics, in so far as they appertain to the studies, or form part of matters of general interest. There is no reason whatsoever why the student should not take an interest in politics in that sense.

THE HIGHLANDS OF KENYA

By SUKUMAR HALDAR

Bihar Civil Service (Retd.)

THE Madras Congress in December last recorded its disapproval of the action of the white immigrants in enforcing exclusive rights for themselves in the Kenya highlands as against native Africans and Indian immigrants. The Rev. J. A. D. J. Macdonald (formerly a minister in Calcutta and for some time Superintendent of the Calcutta Bible House) has availed himself of the hospitality of a leading Anglo-Indian Newspaper * to indite a special article in defence of the all-white policy. All that the Rev. gentleman has to urge is that the highlands in question were in the possession of lions and other *feræ naturæ* and not in that of the African natives when the white men came after the War and shot down those pests and acquired possession for themselves. What if the Yankees from Alaska or the wicked Bolsheviks from across Bering Strait were to swoop down on the vast, barren, snow-bound areas of the northern Dominion of Canada which are in the undisputed possession of seals and walruses and to claim them as their own! No doubt that is precisely the course that has been pursued in the past by Europeans

in annexing the continents of America, Africa and Australasia which had been in the undisturbed possession, constructive if not effective, of the native races.

Pious people like the Rev. Mr. Macdonald think in terms of Christian and non-Christian races rather than of our common humanity. As Mr. C. F. Andrews said of the Dutch in South Africa in the pages of this periodical in August, 1927, white men generally refuse to recognise any equality between black and white. They know as Christians that the Africans were the children of Ham, of whose son, Canaan, it has been said: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren". The early fathers of the Church laid down the principle: "All the wealth of the heathen world belonged to the faithful." It may not be generally known that the Portuguese received India as a gift from the Pope in return for their pledge to establish Christianity in India. British foreign policy has been thus described by Mr. Oliver Osborne in his book on "The Other Man and Myself":

"The absorption of new native territory by John B. is effected with curious similitude in almost every instance. The trading explorer, the missionary, the concession hunter and the soldier follow each other with methodical certainty."

* "The Statesman", February 12, 1928.

The case was more fully described by "Truth" in June, 1898:

"In times past Africa was left as a field of missionary labour. Associations sought to Christianise the natives. But this attempt soon became a mere pretext for robbing them of their earthly possessions....Nowadays we seem to have given up even the pretence of spreading Christianity in the Dark Continent. We openly and avowedly want its inhabitants to buy our goods and to work for us or to give place to us. If these unfortunates inhabit a district where Europeans can live, we extirpate them by means of spirituous liquor and the diseases that we drag in our train. If they inhabit a part of the continent where Europeans cannot live, we send punitive expeditions to force them to receive our goods. In either case we call upon Providence to bless us for our civilising efforts."

As the Rev. Mr. Macdonald refers in particular to the British rights of conquest in Kenya and states that the Indians are in the wrong we may refer him to Mr Winston Churchill who has stated in his "African Journey" that Indian soldiers bore "an honourable part" in the conquest and pacification of Kenya. Mr. Churchill has strongly condemned the British policy of "deliberately squeezing out the natives of India from regions he has established himself in under every security of good faith." Lord Olivier has stated in an article on "Trusteeship":

"There flourishes, specially in Kenya, the doctrine that the White Man's trusteeship must be exercised 'educationally' through the simple method of

inducing the native to work on the white man's estate."

What is the policy pursued by the British Government? In 1923 the Duke of Devonshire declared:

"His Majesty's Government record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when those interests and those of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."

But this, like the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, has been treated as a scrap of paper. Lord Cranworth, speaking at the Royal Colonial Institute in April, 1926, gave out that "Never must, the interests of the white population be allowed to be swamped by the interests of the natives." This represents the policy actually followed. It is worthy of remark, as stated by Mr. Andrews, that "with one or two notable exceptions, the missionaries and chaplains appear to have sided with the Europeans in an anti-Indian campaign." Archdeacon Law, in a letter to the "Times" in April, 1923, wrote:

"I doubt if there is a single missionary today in Kenya who does not contemplate with dismay the granting of the Indian claims. For, pressed to its logical conclusion, it will mean that the Government will pass into the hands of a non-Christian people."

In the light of these facts the Rev. Mr. Macdonald's defence of the British policy in regard to the Kenya highlands is understandable.

LORD SINHA

By SIR BROJENDRA MITTER,
Advocate-General of Bengal

LORD Sinha was the most brilliant advocate of the Calcutta Court within living memory. By sheer dint of merit he rose from an obscure position, without any special advantages, in the way of wealth or patronage, to be the undisputed leader of the Calcutta Bar. The call of duty took him to other spheres of activity and whatever position he was called upon to occupy, he filled it with dignity and distinction. It was a career of uninterrupted success due to his valuable endowments—physical

health, power of work, a clear and powerful intellect, a gift of ready and direct speech and above all, common sense, courage and honesty.

The public career of Lord Sinha is well-known to all. One special feature is that he was almost always the first Indian to hold the high positions he did. He was the first Indian Advocate-General of Bengal, the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the first Indian King's Counsel, the first Indian Bencher of an Inn,

the first Indian Under-Secretary of State, the first Indian Member of the English Peerage, the first Indian Governor of a Province. A man of innate modesty, he never sought any of these positions. They came to him and the man was always greater than the position he held. He never cared for popular applause, but found satisfaction in selfless and unostentatious discharge of duty. His life was rich in service to his country and the empire.

At the Bar, Sinha had his early struggles and disappointments. For a time he eked out his precarious income by teaching law in the City College. But talent like his could not long remain unappreciated. He soon came to be known as a sound lawyer and powerful advocate—incisive in cross-examination and lucid and forceful in argument. He was uniformly fair to the Court and to his opponent and he commanded the confidence and esteem of the Bench, the Bar and the litigant public in an unstinted measure.

He was called to the Bar in 1886. In 1903, he was appointed Standing Counsel and four years later, Advocate-General. In 1909 he was appointed the Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was knighted in 1914. He reverted to the Bar and from 1915 to 1917 he was again the Advocate-General. 1917 was the turning point in his career, for after that he never came back to the Bar which brought him fame and fortune. In that year he was selected to represent the Government of India in the Imperial War Conference along with the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Meston. In 1918 he was made a King's Counsel and in the same year he was made a member of the Imperial War Cabinet. In 1919 he was sworn in as a Member of the Privy Council and made a peer of the realm. In 1919-1920 he was Under-Secretary of State for India and in that capacity piloted the Government of India Act through the House of Lords. In 1920 he was appointed Governor of Bihar and Orissa which position he had to give up at the end of 1921 on the ground of health. In 1921 he was decorated with the insignia of K. C. S. I.

Prior to 1915 Lord Sinha had not taken much active part in politics. In that year he was prevailed upon to preside over the Indian National Congress. His presidential address was a momentous pronouncement. It is no secret now that the famous declara-

tion of policy made by Parliament on the 20th August, 1917 was the outcome of that address. In those days the ideal of the Congress was self-government within the Empire. Lord Sinha never forsook his faith in the connection of India with England. He always had a long and clear vision of India's future and his faith grew in intensity with the passage of years.

For a few years after 1921 Lord Sinha spent his time mostly in study and travel. He gained a varied and unique experience of men and affairs. With the restoration of his health, we had in Lord Sinha a man rich in knowledge, ripe in judgment and wise in counsel. He came to be regarded as a valuable Imperial asset.

Two years ago, Lord Sinha was given a seat in the Judicial Committee which the aged Lord Parmoor readily vacated in his favour. Lord Sinha was delighted to go back to his first love, the Law, and soon made himself at home in the Privy Council where he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his colleagues and the Bar.

In his varied career, Lord Sinha made many friends in India and in England. Indeed, he had a talent for making and keeping friends. His frank and open nature was singularly loveable. His courtesy, reasonableness and fairness disarmed opposition and his sincere and ardent patriotism commanded respect. If he was great as a lawyer, administrator and statesman, he was greater as a man. His was the robust manly character of a cultured gentleman in which the best qualities of the east and the west were happily commingled.

I had the good fortune of knowing Lord Sinha intimately and I know that whatever might have been the scene of his activities or triumphs, his heart was always in the Calcutta High Court. In fact, the last afternoon he spent in Calcutta, he came to meet the members of the Bar at the Bar Library.

He has left many friends at the Bar to whom his death is a great personal loss. They will cherish many intimate and personal acts of kindness at his hands. We had hoped that he had many more years of service to his country. Sudden death has cut off an exceptional career. His memory will live long in the Calcutta Bar and the Calcutta High Court.

LORD SINHA'S POSITION AT THE BAR

In order to be able to appreciate Lord Sinha's position at the Bar, it is necessary to

refer briefly to his student days and the intellectual equipment with which he joined the great profession of Law. After passing the Matriculation examination in 1877 from the Birbhum Zilla School, Satyendra Prasanna entered the Presidency College as an undergraduate at the age of 13. His elder brother Narendra Prasanna was then a student at the Medical College. Satyendra Prasanna was a brilliant student and passed the First examination in Arts with credit. The only circumstance in connection with his studies in the Presidency College which needs mention here is that he took Latin as his second language. His knowledge of Latin was of great use to him in his subsequent studies in law in England.

In 1881 the two brothers conceived the idea of going to England. In those days the prejudice against a sea voyage was strong and they had consequently to keep their idea concealed from their family. There was a sum of ten thousand rupees lying with an English friend of their family, to the credit of their deceased father. On the strength of this modest sum the two plucky brothers quietly boarded a steamer bound for England. Their flight becoming known, a party set out in a hackney carriage to catch them at Diamond Harbour. Fortunately for the runaways, the boat had just left when the pursuers arrived.

Satyendra Prasanna joined Lincoln's Inn and Narendra Prasanna took up his medical studies. Both the brothers worked hard. Narendra Prasanna got into the Indian Medical Service. Satyendra Prasanna was a brilliant student and he carried off a large number of prizes and scholarships at Lincoln's Inn. In those days there were more scholarships and prizes than now and I have heard that no Indian student ever earned so much money at Lincoln's Inn as Satyendra Prasanna. The brothers were constantly in want of money and whenever the situation became desperate, Satyendra Prasanna sat for an examination and earned a scholarship to tide over the difficulty. During this time Satyendra Prasanna, in addition to his legal studies, learnt several continental languages and improved his Latin. He read Roman Law and several other branches of law in the original Latin, which gave him a great mastery of the fundamental principles of law. He was not only a voracious reader, but had a retentive memory. In later years I have heard him quoting Justinian with the facili-

ty of a Pandit quoting Manu or Yajnavalkya. Sinha was singular in many walks of life. Even as a student he was singular in this, that he was called to the Bar without having passed the Bar Final. At the time of the examination he fell ill and the Benchers in consideration of his unique successes at the prize examinations excused him. He was called to the Bar by his Inn at the age of 21. During his student days in London, he travelled a good deal in the continent where his knowledge of continental languages became very useful. Sinha never read in the chambers of any barrister nor did he attend the Courts in London.

He was called to the Bar in 1886 and shortly on his return to India joined the Calcutta High Court. There were giants in the Bar in those days and a young unknown barrister, without wealth or family connections, was lost in the profession. He had undoubtedly a sound knowledge of legal principles, a brilliant intellect and an indomitable will; but he had no practical experience such as is gained in chambers or in the Courts. So equipped, Sinha launched on the Sea of the Law. How he floated and eventually rode the waves are common knowledge. His early years were years of struggle and disappointment. He got few chances to prove his mettle, and received but little encouragement at the start. In fact at one time he was about to accept a munsifship. But he kept up his studies in law and literature and was ever ready to make good. He ran about in the smaller courts for small fees and picked up experience which he had lacked. In later years when he was recognized to be the most deadly cross-examiner, he used to say that his success in that line was due to the varied experience which he had gathered in the Small Cause Court, the Police courts and the mofussil courts. It gave him self-confidence and a close view of human nature which mere study in chambers or of the law Reports could never give. He came in touch with live humanity and got an insight into the springs of human conduct. While he was thus eking out a precarious income he took to teaching law in the City College. This also he regarded as a great help to him; for, he used to say that nothing clears up ideas so effectively as when you have to explain a thing to others. He retained his connection with the City College for some years after his financial condition ceased to

have need of it and he severed it only when his professional pre-occupations left him no spare time.

Theoretical knowledge of the law, Sinha had in an ample measure and during the years of struggle he acquired practical knowledge. He never let slip any opportunity, but was always ready to take advantage of it. To such a man opportunities always come. They came in a tide, which was taken at the flood and it led him on to fame and fortune.

What are the factors which carried Sinha to the top of the profession? He had a profound knowledge of legal principles as distinguished from a mere memorizing of rulings. In fact, he never cared for a ruling unless it was necessary to convince the Court. He had an extensive and varied experience of men and affairs and of human nature. He had a powerful intellect and a penetrating analytical mind. However complicated a case might be, he could, in a short time, get to the crux of it, separating the essential and irrelevant parts. His quickness in winding through mazes of fact and getting hold of the real points in a case was marvellous. A clear thinker, with an extraordinary fund of common sense, his presentation of a case was always lucid and convincing. One hearing him in court would wonder where lay any difficulty in such an obvious case. He was the greatest verdict winner in Calcutta in recent times and his successes reminded one of the remarks made of Lord Erskine that no wonder Erskine won his cases because he was always on the right side. Within living memory Sinha was far and away the best cross-examiner in Calcutta. Before he had won his way to the front rank of barristers, he was often engaged in cases where the result depended upon the successful cross-examination of some important witness. There was never anything savouring of trickiness or mere subtlety in

Sinha's advocacy. It was honest, straightforward, powerful and compelling. He never misled the Bench or took unfair advantage of his opponent. That is why he enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Bench and the Bar alike. He had a rare gift of ready and direct speech. He never wasted the time of the Court, nor raised any smoke screen to confound the Judge. In argument he would concentrate his energy on one or two vital points in the case leaving the minor points to take care of themselves. He thought quickly, boldly and clearly and as a result his exposition was clear, lucid and brief. In preparing a case he would first master the facts and then find out what the law should be, as applicable to those facts, leaving his juniors to collect appropriate authorities in support of such law. It often happened that the chain of reasoning he followed was precisely the same upon which the judgments of the highest courts rested.

As in his student days, Sinha carried off prizes and scholarship, so in the profession he became the first Indian Advocate-General of Bengal, the first and only Indian King's Counsel, the first and only Bencher of an Inn and finally a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Of his seat in the Privy Council, it may not be generally known that it was one of the two seats which are most prized. They are honorary and were held by Lord Parmoor and the late Lord Oxford and Asquith. Lord Cave, the Lord Chancellor, in order to find a seat for Lord Sinha, persuaded Lord Parmoor to resign which the latter readily did. In the short time that Lord Sinha sat in that, the highest Court in the empire, he earned the full confidence and regard of his veteran colleagues. Unfortunately he was much too short a time there.

In Lord Sinha has passed away a great lawyer and a great advocate.

LEGAL, FINANCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL THEORIES IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF WORLD-DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR TO THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (1870-1905)

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Ideology : (1) nation-making, (2) state-socialism, (3) local, central and federal governments, (4) progressive vs. proportional taxation, (5) problem of groups, (6) constitutional movements in Asia, (7) labour a political power, (8) establishment of gold-*raj* in currency, (9) imperialism and colonialism, (10) anarchism, (11) partition of Asia and Africa, (12) "currency principle in Reserve Banking, (13) the New East, (14) critical attitude towards democracy.

1870-90. BISMARCK (1815-98). He promotes national unity and Empire-building. TREITSCHKE's *Politik* may be regarded as his own gospel. He combats *Marxismus*,—the "Social-Democratic" Party,—by meeting Marx half-way, so to say, in and through comprehensive socialistic legislation. His work embodies state-socialism on the lines of SCHAEFFLE's *Quintessenz des Sozialismus* and the *Kathedr Sozialismus* (professorial socialism) of Wagner, Schmoller etc. organized in the discussions of the *Verein fuer Sozialpolitik* (Association for Social Politics) which is established in 1872 as a result of the congress at Eisenach.

1870. FORSTER's Education Act in England supplemented by the Act of 1876: Elementary education is rendered compulsory and universal; later it is rendered free (Act of 1891).

1871. Gold standard is established in Germany as well as in Northern Europe. Silver is the only standard legalized in India (1870).

1872. The *Communist Manifesto* is revised by the authors themselves, MARX and ENGELS, in the light of the experience of the revolutionary Paris Commune of 1871. "Especially did the Commune demonstrate that the 'working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends," says

Lenin in *The State and Revolution* (1917). According to him this is a "fundamental and principal lesson" of "enormous importance." It does not mean, as the "moderate" socialists or "opportunists" interpret it, that Marx is here opposing a sudden seizure of power and emphasising the idea of gradual development, but exactly the reverse. "What Marx says is that the working class must *break up, shatter* the available ready machinery of the state and not confine itself merely to taking possession of it"

1873. SEYDEL. *Grundzuge einer allgemeinen Staatslehre* (Fundamentals of General Political Theory). He opposes Waitz's "compromise theory" of "divided sovereignty" as the characteristic of federations (cf. the American Calhoun vs. Webster, Madison, *The Federalist* etc.). According to him sovereignty has no definite extent. He considers sovereignty to be indivisible and champions the sovereign rights of the original states in the German federation.

1873. STEPHEN : (J. F.) : *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*. He is critical like Tocqueville and Guizot in his attitude to democracy. The emphasis is laid on discipline, political and religious, rather than on liberty or progress. Cf. MAINE's *Popular Government* (1884), which in the same strain preaches the anti-democratic, authoritarian and aristocratic gospel of the state and teaches one to be cautious in regard to the extension of suffrage.

1874. TREITSCHKE (1834-96) : *Politik* (Politics). According to him, war will endure to the end of history. The laws of human thought and human nature forbid any alternative, nor is one to be wished for. He condemns the "ravings" about "everlasting peace." "To a monarchy should appertain a house which has grown together with the nation. Only such a ruling

family as this is able to rise superior to parties." In his judgment, it is individual men who make history, "such men as Luther Frederick the Great or Bismarck." "We Germans are as a matter of fact a more democratic nation than the English ever were and our official system is based upon these lines." The state does not identify itself with physical power for its own sake. It is power in order to protect and further the highest welfare of the human race. All the restraints to which states bind themselves by treaty are voluntary and all treaties are concluded on the tacit understanding *rebus sic stantibus* (other circumstances remaining the same). No courts of arbitration will ever succeed in banishing war from the world.

1874. The so-called Latin-Union (established 1865) suspends the free coinage of silver and virtually becomes monometallic on the gold basis. Bimetallism is not a question of practical politics any longer.

1874. NEUMANN. *Die progressive Einkommensteuer im Staats- und Gemeindehaushalt* (Progressive Income tax in State and Local Budgets). According to him the "faculty" or "ability" theory of taxation is virtually identical with the doctrine of "equal sacrifice." He would apportion taxes in such a manner as to correspond to the ability to contribute to public purposes with generally equal efforts and equal sacrifices as over against other needs. The phrase "equality of taxation" is rejected by him as lacking in precision. To him progressive taxation is the only legitimate system. His progression is moreover "degressive" (cf. RAU's *Finanzwissenschaft* 1832-37.)

1875. The *Reichsbank* is established in Germany; the British Bank Charter Act (1844) is accepted as the model for note-legislation (currency principle as contrasted with banking principle). But modifications are introduced which enable the German institution to function more elastically than the British. The principle is not so severe as "no gold, no note" but simply "no cover, no rate," the gold cover being compulsory only for a third of the issue (*Drittels-deckung*).

1875. GIERKE (1841-1923). *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (German Association Law): Every individual bears a double character, personal and communal. There is a series of associations connecting the state and the individual. The associations are "real persons." In every form of association—

religious, cultural, political racial there is a real and independent "community" life, consciousness and will over against and distinct from the lives, consciousnesses and wills of the individual members of the group. The state is distinguished from other social bodies—from the minor political associations in particular,—by its position above them; for it alone there is no limit through a higher collective existence; all other political unions are subordinate to it; its will is the sovereign general will. The individual belongs only in part to the state; he has a domain of free existence unassailable by the state.

1875. German Social-Democratic Party is established at Gotha. LIEBKNECHT and LASSALLE, the two leaders, represent two original factions now united.

1876. Constitution is granted to Turkey by the Sultan. It languishes during the Russo-Turkish War and is stifled under Sultan ABDUL HAMID.

1877. Gold-Exchange standard is introduced in Holland and in the Dutch East Indies (Sumatra, Java etc). This standard implies essentially the dethronement of silver and the transfer of allegiance to the new power, gold.

1878-92. The Second International Monetary Conference is held at Paris. 12 countries (excluding Germany) take part. The Third International Monetary Conference is held at Paris (1881), with 19 countries (excluding Germany) taking part.

Gold and Silver Commission is instituted in England (1888).

The Fourth International Monetary Conference is held at Brussels (1892). All these Conferences and Commissions fell to establish bimetalism.

The monarchy of gold is finally accepted as the first postulate in the currency-thought of the world. The tug of war between gold and silver (1850-1892) ends in the establishment of (i) direct or 100 p. c. gold-*raj* and (ii) indirect or partial gold-*raj* (gold-exchange standard).

1878-1883. JHERING (1818-92): *Der Zweck im Recht* (Purpose in Law): The "nature" of law is not the only important item in political life. The purpose of every law has to be discovered. Hence the necessity of emphasising the "interests" served by the legal institutions. The formal legal machinery by which these interests are secured must not monopolize the attention of jurists and statesmen. The traditional

jurisprudence of "conceptions" or formal apparatus of law is modified and to a certain extent replaced by the jurisprudence of the "ends," desires and wants of human beings. The doctrine of absolute and natural rights is replaced by that of weighing or evaluating the interests. He considers law to be the "conscious" creation of man and hence opposes the extreme historical view of law as being mainly tradition embodied in custom.

1878. **TOLSTOY** (1828-1910), Russian : *My Confession, What shall we do then?* (1885) *Kingdom of God is within you or Christianity not a mystical doctrine but a new life-conception* (1893): "Our supreme law is love: do not resist evil by force." Law is "upheld by violence" and hence is to be rejected by the "more highly developed peoples of our time" who "acknowledge the commandments of philanthropy, of sympathy with one's neighbour and ask only the possibility of friendship" "For the more highly developed nations of our time," the legal institution of the state is unnecessary. The state is the "rule of the bad raised to the highest pitch." The rule in the state is based in physical force. Property is an "anachronism" "for the more highly developed nations." Property means the dominion of possessors over non-possessors. This dominion is based on physical force. Those men who are convinced of these truths are to convince others as to the "necessity" of the change "for love's sake." Finally, the law, state and property are to be abolished "with the help of the refusal of obedience."

1880-98. Catholic Movement in Italy. Congresses of the Church are held. They take interest in the interests and aspirations of the middle and working classes. Rural savings banks, working men's societies, university groups, young men's societies, diocesan and parochial committees etc., are established under church auspices. Professor **TONIOLO** is an exponent of this Christian Socialism (Pisa). Under the pontificates of **LEO XIII** and **BENEDICT XV** (c1914) the Church breaks away from its alliance with the parties of absolutism with which since 1789 it had made common cause against the Revolution and recognises representative institutions as the legal and legitimate form of government.

1880. **WAGNER**. *Finanzwissenschaft* (Science of Finance) :

The public finance of the ancient states

was governed by "fiscal" considerations,—i.e., the objective of enough revenue for public purposes. Modern states, on the other hand, are functioning in what may be called the "socio-political" epoch of public finance. Revenue is not the sole consideration to-day. The modern states seek to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth by interfering with the rights of private property. Proportional taxation is the system of the "fiscal" period, whereas in the modern socio-political epoch progressive taxation is the rule, because it is an effective instrument in the readjustment of relations between the different classes.

1882. **RENAN** (1823-1895): "*Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*" ("What is a nation?"): lecture at the *College de France*: Nationality is dependent on (1) the positive will of the people, and on (2) the possession of common memory. His exposition leads to the repudiation of the "physical", objective elements viz. race, language, territory (cf. Mancini, 1851).

1882. British occupation of Egypt: **Muhammad ABDU**, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, is banished on account of his participation in the nationalist struggle.

"*Le Lien Indissoluble*" (1884), a weekly paper in Arabic (French title), is conducted from Paris by **Saiyad JAMALUDDIN** of Persia and his disciple **Muhammad Abdu** of Egypt.

1882. The Bank of Japan is founded on the German model (cf. 1875.)

1882. **JELLINEK**: *Staaten-verbindingen*: (Unions of States) Obligation exclusively through its own will is the juristic mark of the sovereign state. The sovereign power can be limited,—but only by itself. This is self-limitation through legal self-determination. States may continue to be states although they are no longer sovereign. Sovereignty is not a characteristic mark of the state. He propounds the doctrine of non-sovereign states in a federal union.

1884-85. The Third Reform Bill in England institutes universal suffrage in politics. A working class democracy is thus initiated.

1885. **KROPOTKIN**. (1842-1921), Russian; *Paroles d'un revolte* (Words of a rebel), *Anarchist Communism* (1891), *La Conquete du pain* (The Conquest of Bread), 1892, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1901): In general philosophy he is practically identical with **Bakunin**. The "next phase of evolution," the "higher form of social organization" will

"inevitably" be not only anarchism but "anarchistic communism." He preaches the abolition of capital and private property. His social system is based on mutual aid and co-operation. The state is negated, of course.

1885-7. Indian National Congress: First three sessions—Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. First Presidents:—W. C. BANERJEE, NAOROJI, Badruddin TYABJI. Resolutions: (1) Adequate representation of the people. (2) Encouragement of Indian manufactures in order to combat the poverty of the people. (3) Admission of Indians to higher ranks of the military service. (4) Protection of the interests of the Indian settlers in South Africa (Poona Session, 1895, President Surendra Nath BANERJEE).

N. B. Indian Councils Act, 1892.

The Indian National Congress activities of the period mark the beginnings of "constitutional agitation," and "association with and opposition to the Government" on the part of the people's leaders.

1886-9. The Japanese Constitution is established. Prince ITO takes the prominent part.

PARTIES IN JAPAN

1880 Jiyu-to: Liberal: founded by
ITAGAKI.

1882 Kaishin-to: Reform 1896
OKUMA

Shimpo-to: Progressive

1883 Teisei-to: Imperialist-Conservative
FUKUCHI

1898 Kensei-to: Liberal-Progressive Combination.

1900 Seiyu-kai: Constitutional Government—Ito.

1889. PREUSS: *Gemeinde, Staat, Reich als Gebietskoerperschaften*. (Community or Locality i. e. Parish, Town or District, State i. e. Province, and Empire as territorial corporations): He attempts to interpret the constitution of the German Empire according to the theory of *Genorssenschaften* (corporations): cf. Gierke. The theory of sovereignty is eliminated by him from the categories of political science. Sovereignty as "absolute and perpetual power of a state" (Bodin, Hobbes, Austin, Hegel) is inconsistent with international law which by nature deprives the states of their independence (through contracts and agreements.) It is incompatible with the idea of "federation" in which it is difficult to precisely locate

the highest authority. It is inconsistent with constitutional law which by nature imposes restraints on the authority of the state (cf. Duguit: *L'Etat*). It is incompatible with the existence of other associations and corporations in the body politic. It was consistent with the absolute state of the past but can have no place in "modern" states which consist in a series of mutual rights and obligations.

1890. LEROY-BEAULIEU (1843-1916): *L'Etat moderne et ses fonctions* (The Modern State and its functions): He presents a hostile criticism of state-socialism and expatiates on the heavy financial burdens of the "new state." He is pro-Kantian and anti-Hegelian in his advocacy of *laissez faire* and liberty. His thought is marked by Spencerian individualism but with no touch of anarchism. He admires Chevalier and Mill for their moderate socialism, and condemns Lorenz von Stein, Schaeffle, Wagner and Bluntschli for their adoration of the State. The "organismic" idea of the state is stoutly opposed by him. He believes in the existence of an infinite number of free intermediate associations between the state and the individual. The state is entirely devoid of inventive genius, says he. It is not the highest form of personality. The state does not create right. The theory of Bossuet and Feaelon is less false than that of Bentham. The legislator comes last to sanction and specify. Leroy-Beaulieu preaches the necessity of bringing the legislator into a more modest frame of mind. His *Traite des Finances*, (Treatise on Finance), teaches that the state should not attempt inflicting more or less equal sacrifice on the individuals. It ought rather to recover from them the just price of the services rendered to each and the just share of each in the interest and liquidation of the national debt. He is thus an exponent of the more or less traditional French theory of taxation, namely, the theory of benefit. Progressive taxation is condemned. His ideal is proportional taxation.

1890-91. SAIYAD JAMALUDDIN'S (1838-97) activities in Persia. He is expelled on account of anti-foreign agitation (1891): "The sword of unrighteousness has not suffered me to see the awakening of the peoples of the East, and the hand of 'ignorance has not granted me the opportunity to hear the call of freedom from the throats of the nations of the Orient."

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

1. Foreign concessions in Persia (1888-89): (i) the Karun River Concession, Nov. 1888 is granted to England, (ii) the mines to Baron Julius de Reuter, January 1889; (iii) the Rivers of Tabriz etc. to Russia, Feb. 1889, (iv) Tobacco Concession, March 1890.

2. Anti-foreign agitation in Persia (1883-89) culminating in the *Futwa* of December 1891, against the use of tobacco. The *Futwa* is issued by HAJI MIRZA HASAN of Shiraz—under the inspiration of Jamaluddin.

3. Maladministration in Persia is marked by the tyranny and exactions of the governing classes, corruption of all branches of administration, *e.g.*, sale of government offices, prevalence of torture, unpaid and undisciplined soldiers, robbery and plunder by soldiers. The country is depopulated. Emigration to Turkey and Russia is a consequence.

NEW ASIA c 1886

Evolutionally speaking, in terms of modernism in constitution, economic life, political experience and general outlook Asia (1880-1890)—Eur-America (1776-1832) *i.e.* the the modern East is about half a century behind the modern West. New Asia is born through (1) contact with and example of modern Western progress, (2) industrialization, however slow and halting and (3) hatred of foreign domination, intervention or concession.

The inspiration derived from the political and cultural achievements of ancient and medieval Asia is another formative force in the New Orient. This "romantic" appreciation of the past is, however, intimately associated with modern historical, archaeological and anthropological scholarship. Nationalism, in so far as it is an aspect of 'romanticism', is ultimately to be traced, therefore, in the main to Western education such as began to bear fruit among the pioneers of new life and thought in Asia between 1850 and 1886 and has been more or less democratized filtering down to the masses since then.

The process of Asia's rebirth may be said to have begun c 1850 and taken about one generation or so,—thus:

1. Western Asia (Turkey, Egypt and Persia): 1857 (Crimean War) to 1876, 1882, 1890.
2. Southern Asia (India): 1857 (Mutiny) to 1886.
3. Japan: 1853 (Commodore Perry) to 1870-1889.
4. China: 1842 (Nanking Treaty) to 1898.

1892. BURGESS, American: *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*: A federal government may be created, but a federal state is impossible. Sovereignty is single and indivisible. The Union is a single *state*. The old states possess to-day only the "residuary powers of government" which do not constitute sovereignty.

1892. Gold-Exchange Standard is introduced in Austria-Hungary and Russia as well as India (1893-98) and the Philippines (1903). We have here a series of victories for gold (*cf.* Holland 1877) as against bimetallism.

1893. FLORA: *Scienza delle Finanze* (Science of Finances), Italian:

The sentiment of constitutional liberty that generates the need for discussing the questions of public finance is not yet sufficiently diffused among the Italian people, says he. Representative government itself is in Italy the "product rather of brain than of conscience and of the organic evolution of the constitutional idea" Equality of all members of the political society before law is the characteristic feature of modern states. The ancient state was the veritable organization of one class, the nobility, and it was in the exclusive interest of this class that the state exercised its power. The modern state, on the contrary, is the organization of all the social classes, that directly or through special associations minister to the satisfaction of the collective needs. From this doctrine of equality, proclaimed as it was by the French revolution, are derived in public finance the doctrines of generality ("universality") and "uniformity" of contribution. The observance of these two doctrines constitutes financial justice and the basis of modern financial legislation.

According to the principle of universality every member of the society is compelled to contribute to the public exchequer and privileged and exempted classes are inconceivable. This principle is, however, violated to a certain extent in the exemption of the "minimum of subsistence" from taxation. But it need be observed, says Flora, that this exemption is "more apparent than real", because indirect taxes on consumption are paid by even the poorest classes who are, as a rule, exempt from the direct tax. According to the principle of uniformity every citizen, no matter what be the amount of his wealth or income, experiences an "equal sacrifice" on account of the contribution paid by him to

the state. This ideal of equality of taxation involves the problem of assessment according to the proportional or progressive system.

From the *fiscal* standpoint the problem is important solely as a means of "attaining inequality in the distribution of taxation" between the different members of the community. But from the *social* standpoint the question has bearing on the possibility of militating against inequality in distribution, which is the result of free competition, or on that of gradually converting private capital into collective and thus accelerating the solution of the social question.

1894. Progressive taxation on inheritance is introduced in England (the "death duties") also in different states of Germany and finally in the German Empire (1899-1906).

1896. LECKY : *Democracy and Liberty* presents an aristocratic criticism of popular institutions (cf. MAINE : *Popular Government*, 1884; LE BON : *Crowd*, 1896; FAUGET : *Cult of Incompetence* etc.).

1898-1901. KANG YU-WEI's propaganda promotes constitutional and educational reforms. The period is marked by the Boxer Revolt against foreign aggressions. A characteristic document is the EMPRESS DOWAGER'S Edict. It says in part : "The various powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this Empire can never consent to, and that if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors."

ENGLAND IN CHINA

1842. Nanking Treaty opens Amoy, Canton, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai and transfers Hongkong to Great Britain.

1858. Tientsin Treaty establishes extra-territoriality, and opens up the Yangtze, as well as other parts of China.

1863. The Maritime Customs Department is organized by England to help China against the Taiping Rebels.

1886-97. Great Britain counteracts the French treaty of Tientsin (1885) by counter-concessions in 1886, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1897.

1886. Burma becomes British

1890. Sikkim becomes British

1898. England is assured of the non-alienation of Yunnan and Kwangtung by China.

1898. The Yangtze River becomes a British sphere : 2,800 miles railway concession.

1898. Spheres (Russian and German) are delimited

1900. Boxer Rising

1902. Anglo-Jap alliance against Russia

1902. Anglo-Chinese (Mackay) Treaty

RUSSIA IN CHINA

1854. The Amur River is seized by Russia because of the blockade of the Black Sea during the Crimean War.

1860. The so-called Maritime Provinces are ceded to Russia by China ; BEGINNINGS OF VLADIVOSTOK.

1891. The Siberian Railway is completed by Russia except the Pacific Branch.

1894. Korean War between Japan and China makes Russia friendly to China.

1895. Russia deprives Japan of the fruits of her victory in Manchuria.

1895. Carsini the Russian diplomat enters into a Convention with China through Li Hung-chang at Petrograd.

1896. The Chinese Eastern Railway is a concession to Russia through Li because of help against Japanese Treaty

1898. Port Arthur is leased to Russia as against German Kiaochiao.

1901. Harbin to Port Arthur Railway opened: Russia dominates the North by the whole Manchurian Railway.

1902. Russian "Chinese Eastern Railway" hastens the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

1905. The Treaty of Portsmouth which concludes the Russo-Japanese War deprives Russia of the South Manchurian Railway.

FRANCE IN CHINA

1858-62. Annexation of Cochin China by France.

1863. Protectorate over Cambodia is established.

1874. Cession by Annam to France of territories to the South. France compels China at the same time to acknowledge the independence of Annam.

1885. Protectorate over the southern frontiers of Tongking is established by France who likewise becomes responsible for the maintenance of order in Annam.

1895. Convention *re* mines and railways between France and China ; occupation of Tongking by France.

1898. As against German Kiaochiao, Kuang-chau-wan is seized by France. The non-alienation of the provinces bordering on Tongking is at the same time promised by China.

EASTERN ASIA IN 1898

On the mainland: the battle for spheres in China. The Pacific: Hawaii, Guam, Samoa and the Philippines come to the United States from Spain.

1900. KOHLER (1849) *Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie* (Text-book of the Philosophy of Law): Civilization has been advancing both in extent and in content from stage to stage. It is the function of law to promote this advance by creating new ideals and values. Law is in perpetual progression.

Social history is not to set the *standard* for law but is to be exploited in the interest of remaking law.

1900. MAITLAND'S *Introduction to the translation of GIERKE'S Political Theories of the Middle Ages* popularizes in England the idea of groups as "real persons", and gives a fillip to pluralism or federalism in political theory, already popular in German political philosophy (cf. Preuss).

1902-5. HOBSON J. A. (1858) *Imperialism*: The sliding scale of diplomatic language, hinterland, sphere of interest, sphere of influence, paramountcy, suzerainty, protectorate, veiled or open, leading up to acts of forcible seizure or annexation which sometimes continue to be hidden under "lease", "rectification of frontier", "concession" and the like is the invention and expression of this cynical spirit of imperialism, says he. According to him the antagonism with democracy drives to the very roots of imperialism as a political principle. "The Foreign, Colonial and Indian Secretaries in Parliament, the permanent officials of the departments, the governors and staff who represent the Imperial Government in our dependencies are not and cannot be controlled directly or effectively by the will of the people. This subordination of the legislative to the executive and the concentration of executive power in an autocracy are necessary consequences of the predominance of foreign over domestic politics."

1902. KAUTSKY (1854-) *Soziale Revolution*:

The proletarian state would "abolish all rights of inheritance." Graduated income-

tax would be a feature of reforms in taxation. He prefers "compensating" the capitalists and landowners to "confiscating" their properties.

1904. President ROOSEVELT'S *Message to Congress*: "The Filipinos do not need independence at all, but do need good laws, good public servants, and the industrial development that can come only if the investment of American and foreign capital in the islands is favoured in all legitimate ways."

1904. RABINDRANATH TAGORE (1862-): *Swadeshi Samaj* (Indigenous Indian Society), a lecture in Bengali at Calcutta: He poses the society against the state. In his attitude of indifferentism to the state, almost in the manner of Leroy-Beaulieu, he is an exponent of Spencerian individualism verging, as it does, on anarchism. An anti-state attitude in India is tantamount, however, to anti-Britishism. His philosophy thus becomes a feeder of extremist or radical tendencies in the political thinking of Young India as contrasted with the traditional, "moderate", Indian National Congress view of relations with the British government.

1904-5. Russo-Japanese War: It compels the first mentionable set-back to the logic of the "white-man's burden" and ushers in the birth of Young Asia. Along with it one notices the beginnings of sanity in Eur-American philosophy. The significance of Japanese victory and the "ideas of 1905" in social science is discussed in the present author's *Futurism of Young Asia*, Leipzig, 1922.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN OUTLOOK

By C. F. ANDREWS

ON account of the confusion that exists in the public mind in India about the South African Indian situation, it has been thought well by many whose minds are still in doubt that I should issue a statement that should be, as far as possible, explanatory, authoritative and impartial concerning the Settlement, the Indian Community and the Congress.

Let me make clear at once, that the South African Indian Congress (often called the S.A.I.C) represents, in all the provinces, by far the larger proportion of the Indian community. It also contains the ablest members. In reality it is Mahatma Gandhi's own creation; and it has had his continuous support since his departure. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu always worked through the Congress when in South

Africa, and she is now its President. In the last few years, the Congress has obtained an overwhelmingly strong position. It has dealt directly and officially with the Union Government on all supreme occasions, as representing the whole Indian Community. Therefore, it would be difficult to exaggerate its commanding importance in South Africa and also the great ability with which its conferences and executive meetings have been conducted. The Indians in South Rhodesia have just amalgamated with the S.A.I.C. and made it stronger still.

There is only one possibility for such a body of men as the South African Indian community isolated as it were in the midst of so many millions. The community must be united, or it will perish. Fortunately, as a successor to Mr. A. I. Kaje, the Congress has now, in Mr. A. Christopher, who has just returned from England, a born leader and a man of great powers of self-sacrifice in the national cause. We had missed him very much during the last very critical years; but now we have him back again with renewed vigour; and along with him we have a disciplined executive body, who have stood the test of very difficult days. Indeed, the Congress has now been more united, active and powerful. The Dutch Government has a sincere respect for it, as I have related.

The S.A.I.C. has been consistently devoted to the All-India National Congress. Each year, it appoints delegates to the Congress. Each year, it follows closely every part of the annual proceedings. The chief Congress leaders, both past and present, have their portraits in the Parsee Rustumjee Library, at Durban, which is the centre of all political and social activities.

Let me now describe, who the South African Indians are. The great bulk come from Tamil Nadu. These went out to South Africa originally under the old unsatisfactory conditions of indentured labour; they were more like slaves, at that time, than free men. But liberty has become all the dearer to them on that account; and their descendants are a people, who win one's heart by their wonderful industry and happy domestic life. In the country districts, they have made Natal a garden. The market gardening and banana trades are almost entirely in their hands; they have made many swamps into fertile regions. Four out of five of the Indians in Natal are probably from South

India. The remaining Indians are chiefly Gujaratis—Muhammadan merchants from the West coast of India and a small number from the Punjab and U.P. Some of these Gujarati merchants are very wealthy. It is this wealthy Muhammadan element, that has provided the bulk of the £20,000, which Mr. Shastri has obtained for higher Indian education.

There is absolutely no Hindu-Muslim problem in South Africa. The simple fact, that the greater part of the higher Indian education will go to the Tamil Hindus, is itself a sufficient proof of this. For, as I have said, Muslims have been the biggest subscribers.

It is true, that there are divisions; but these are rather on political lines, and of a party of personal character. Yet it must be emphasised that the Congress stands high over all other sections and forms the one rallying centre.

Nobody ever dreams of considering whether a man is a Hindu or Muslim or Christian, when elections to the highest posts in the Congress take place. It is sufficient that he is a man of character. We have, for instance, a saintly old Musalman, Amood Byatt, appointed year after year as President in Natal, being elected chiefly by Tamil Hindu votes. Of all things in South Africa this is of the happiest augury; and as long as the Congress is strongly supported from India, as the substantive body, this favourable state of things will continue.

But the question has arisen in India, whether the Congress itself has not compromised the Indian position by a too ready acceptance of the Cape Agreement. I wish every one, who has any such uneasy feeling, could have had my own experience, from 1925 onward. The attitude of the Congress Executive, at every stage, has been one of uncompromising independence. In the end, although the Capetown Agreement was signed by the Indian Delegation without first being shown to the Congress, nevertheless every point had been thrashed out; and it was on the advice of the Congress Executive, that the Indian Delegation settled all the most important issues. On the whole, the settlement when it came to be published was far more in our favour than we had expected.

Let me make clear the main points:—

(i) The Asiatic Bill, which was intended, "to reduce the numbers of Indian in South Africa to the irreducible minimum" has been

withdrawn. The whole policy underlying this Bill has been reversed.

(ii) The Indian Community is no longer to be regarded as an alien community, but is accepted as a "permanent section of the South African population."

(iii) Though monetary inducements are still offered by the Union Government to Indians to enable them to return to India, every trace of compulsion, or pressure, or recruitment under false pretences, has been abandoned. Anyone who goes away, goes entirely at his own free will; he also is free to return within 3 years.

(iv) The pledge is given that the Union Government will do its utmost to foster the progress of the Indian Community to 'the full extent of its capacity and opportunities.' This pledge is already being made good in the sphere of education, by far the most important sphere of all. General Hertzog's recent speech shows that he is determined to honour the agreement.

(v) An Agent General, who shall look after Indian affairs on the spot,—has been welcomed and accepted by the Union Government. He has been given a rank higher than that of the Ambassador of any other country.

All this is to the good. With regard to the repatriation figures, under (iii), that has been nothing so far that is alarming. It is true that nearly one thousand more Indians have returned in 1927 than in 1926. But all those who took the bonus, since the Agreement, have the option of returning within 3 years. Many are likely to do so. Farther more, it has to be remembered, that the bonus money was doubled in 1927. This raising of the bonus has augmented, for the time being, the number of those who have accepted the return passage. The same thing happened in 1921, when the bonus was raised before. Then, too, there was an immediate increase in the number of those who took the return passage. Afterwards, there was a falling off. So it may happen again. For a year or two, there is likely to be an increase in the number of those who return. But this number after all is very limited. For, conditions in South Africa are improving all round so rapidly, owing to the shortage of labours, that in a little time it is unlikely

that many will accept the bonus, at all, even though its value is again raised.

But while I have sought to show as clearly as possible that there has been a change for the better in the whole situation, and that the pitch-dark night of 1925-26 is not likely to return, yet it must be always remembered that the Agreement in no way removes the *fundamental* disabilities. These are three in number:—(i) The prohibition of all Indian immigration. (ii) The blank refusal of the franchise. (iii) The colour bar in social life. All these three remain. Probably, the only way to break down this triple barrier is to aim steadily at improving our own educational and domestic status, till the colour bar becomes an anomaly. In a hundred directions, the South African Malay Community, at the Cape, has already accomplished this. There is no reason why Indians also in Natal should fail to accomplish it in their turn. But the surest victory will be won in this direction by the steadiest methods, namely, by better education and by gradually raising the standard of living already, the presence as Ambassador of an Indian has dealt the greatest blow to white race exclusiveness that has ever been struck in South Africa. A second blow is already about to be struck owing to the impending change in the whole character of Indian education in Natal. Given twenty years of educational advance, with such splendid material as the present Tamil, Gujarati and Hindustani communities to work upon, and the result can hardly be doubtful. Personally, I have no question, that in twenty years time, if steady progress continues, not merely will the colour bar be broken down, but also the franchise will be won.

In conclusion, it must be remembered that the Dutch are now in power for good. They are sturdy, independent Nationalists, who have fought for their own freedom and have won it. We must not quarrel with them, but must show them that we love our national freedom just as much as they do. That, in the long run, is the argument which will prevail in Dutch South Africa. There could be no happier omen for the future than General Hertzog's speech on the Anniversary of the Agreement and Tielman Roos's withdrawal of clause 104 from the Liquor Bill.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Leprosy Problem in Bankura

Professor Jogesh Chandra Ray has written a very interesting and useful article in your March number on Leprosy in the Bankura District. May I take the liberty of correcting his statement about the Bankura Leper Home, which I think may give a wrong impression?

The Bankura Leper Home was built by the Mission to Lepers in 1901 and now has 180 inmates. It also cares for, educates and makes self-supporting over 20 healthy untainted children of leper inmates. Prof. Ray is not quite accurate in his facts about the Leper Home. Our inmates are by no means all of the pauper class. Many of them are ryots from the Bankura District and a number come from Midnapur and some even from Assam. Some are weavers and all inmates who so desire can attend school in the Leper Home and also receive practical instruction in weaving from a teacher engaged specially for the purpose. Inmates come to the Leper Home of their own free will and for some time recently we have had to tell them there is no room. They are allowed to leave the Leper Home if they wish and are not kept there against their will. Provided their conduct has been good and it does not interfere with their treatment and they are not infectious cases, inmates are given leave for a few days when they desire it. Inmates are examined periodically to note the progress of the disease and they are discharged when symptom-free or when the disease has been fully arrested. If they have no obvious means of support and no relatives to look after them they usually stay in the Leper Home to the end of their lives. Their days are certainly spent with far more peace than they would be outside.

Patients too are admitted independent of caste and there is no compulsion about their becoming Christians. Inmates are given every liberty about attending the religious services. We naturally invite them and long for them to learn something about Jesus Christ. It is through Him they have been helped and in His name they receive the latest medical treatment and food and clothing by the help of free will contributions from Christians in many parts of the world.

Prof. Ray refers to the benevolence of Babu Gazanund Jatia who contributed the sum of Rs. 30,000 in memory of his father Babu Kishorilal Jatia for the building of six semi-detached cottages with separate cook houses, and doctor's

quarters. These Jatia buildings are set apart specially for the treatment of better class Indians but few are coming forward to avail themselves, of the opportunity thus provided. The resident doctor of the Leper Home, appointed by the Mission to Lepers, has had special training at the Calcutta School of "Tropical Medicine in Leprosy" under Dr. E. Muir and resides at these buildings.

The new buildings, known as the Svasthyaniketan, are separated from the main Leper Home by nearly a mile and are in a very healthy position. Since the opening of the buildings last year by the Governor of Bengal, we have had one or two inmates, and discharged one inmate after six months treatment. We should like to see these buildings full and the prejudice in the mind of the educated Indian against taking treatment removed. Why should not the higher caste Indian who would not come to the ordinary Leper Home look his disease honestly in the face and decide to take proper treatment at once whilst the disease is in its early stages? A few months of treatment under proper conditions at this period would prevent their becoming cripples for life and if they are in the early stages there is every hope that they will soon become symptom-free. What difference can there be in going to some special institution for the treatment of tuberculosis or some such disease and in taking treatment under recognised authority and supervision in Leprosy?

Patients are admitted irrespective of caste, they have separate cook houses and free medical treatment. Further particulars will be gladly given by the undersigned. In addition to the attention of a resident qualified medical practitioner every patient has individual attention and supervision from Dr. R. G. Cochrane, M.D., M.R.C.P., D.T.M. & H., Medical Adviser to 'The Mission to Lepers in India.' Dr. Cochrane has a world-wide experience of leprosy, for he has visited the Mission leper homes in China, Japan, Korea, the Straits Settlements and some 50 of the Mission leper homes in India.

Prof. Ray has rightly drawn attention to the predisposing causes which so seriously affect leprosy. Under proper medical supervision these predisposing causes are treated as well as the disease itself.

J. T. Jackson,
Hony. Supdt., Bankura Leper Home

Mrs. Naidu and the All-India Women's Conference

In your note on the All-India Women's Conference, you have unconsciously shown an inclination to split straws on the question of Mrs. Naidu's presence at that Conference. I observe that you hold that as a leading non-co-operator Mrs. Naidu should have had nothing to do with it for the reason that Lady Irwin opened it. But I feel that Mrs. Naidu's politics deserve to be looked at from a more charitable point of view. Though her political conscience is in the keeping of the non-co-operators there are times when she is obliged to part company with her brothers-in-arms when she finds herself at cross-purposes with them on matters relating to women's rights. Besides, technically speaking, the All-India Women's Conference was a purely non-political conference from which controversial politics and men were rigidly excluded so as not only to give room for the wives of government officials to participate in it but also to divide the two sexes on specific issues. Non-co-operators, men and women, in spite of the political Manuism, insisted upon by their leader or leaders, are bound to meet government servants and their wives (who by the way are only indirect sinners) on some neutral ground without prejudice to their respective political

professions. For the same reason no non-co-operator, however hidebound, will condemn Mrs. Naidu if she allows the mother-instinct in her to assert itself so as to fondle the Viceroy's children.

Being a stranger to the fact that the ticket "non-co-operator" covers a multitude of sins so far as we in the Madras Presidency are concerned you are shocked to see Mrs. Naidu meet Lady Irwin on the platform of the All-India Women's Educational Conference. In our midst we witness the staggering incongruity of the Non-co-operators being actively associated with communal organisations, pledged to uphold the caste system and all the abuses pertaining to it, such as untouchability, etc. Some of them perhaps do overcome the temptation to meet government officials and in their enthusiasm go a step further than Mrs. Naidu in demanding something more than absolute independence but in their own spheres of activity they make democracy in religion and in society impossible. Lately Gandhiji has showered his blessings on the Varnashrama Dharma for which they stand tooth and nail, and has in a way helped them to strain their absurd psychology to the length of opposing progressive movements in society and healthy social legislation.

Please decide for yourself which type of non-co-operator is more reprehensible.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO

EDUCATION—THE MAKING OF THE SWISS NATION

BY MRS. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A.

AS early as the middle of the nineteenth century the Swiss Republic, commonly known as Helvetia or Switzerland realized that the education of the children was a prime necessity which it could not afford to neglect. Accordingly, it established a public primary school where children of all classes of people were to be instructed not by the clergy, as it was done in France or Italy, but by laymen. In 1874 primary education was made free and compulsory in Switzerland. From that time to the present, every Swiss child is required by law to attend a public school from his sixth year until he has completed his fourteenth year.

The compulsory educational law is rigidly enforced. Three months before the beginning of the school year, authorities notify the parents or guardians of the eligible child. In this way there is little excuse for forgetting to send a child to school. Still in some remote parts of the mountain regions one does find, here and there, a child who has escaped the vigilant eye of the law; but as a general rule, parents are keen to

give their children at least elementary education.

Primary education is free in all cantons. There are absolutely no direct expenses for the parents except for paper, pencils and pens. The maintenance of the public school system falls partly on the canton and partly on the commune. This explains the fact that some primary schools are better equipped than others, and that some school teachers are better paid and better housed. The popular enthusiasm for education is so great among the various communes that there is a constant, but friendly rivalry for improving the school facilities.

The compulsory primary education lasts eight years. At the end of that period, the child may go to work if the parents cannot afford to send him to school any longer; but an employer who should engage a child under fourteen is liable to a heavy fine or even imprisonment.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the Swiss elementary education is the manual training for boys, and domestic science for girls. This instruction begins in the very

lower classes. The idea is to find out the likes and dislikes of the child, as well as to teach him how to use his little fingers. He is given a saw and a hammer, and set to making such things as bird-houses, wooden bowls, bread boards, and eventually simple furniture. He is also taught to use paints and varnish in decorating his work.

Girls, on the other hand, learn how to knit and sew and mend. They also learn how to make pretty laces and embroideries, in white or in colour. At the end of the school year, there is an exhibition of the works of the pupils and prizes awarded to the best ones.

In the upper classes, the girls receive instruction in housekeeping which consists of cooking, caring for the house, and waiting on the sick. A Swiss girl, with such a practical training, has a fair chance of making a good housewife. In many cities, the high school boys go through a military training course. They wear uniforms, and are fully equipped with arms. The little army is composed of all the different divisions to be found in the regular army of the Republic, except the cavalry. Each year they stage a sham-battle, and it is interesting to see how well-instructed these youngsters are in the science and art of warfare.

Gymnastics play a very important part not only in the life of the school children, but also of the people as a whole. They are naturally fond of outdoor exercises. Schools provide for all kinds of sports: running, jumping, discus-throwing, swimming, tennis. Throughout the country there are gymnastic clubs. Any healthy man may belong to them by paying a small sum, which goes toward the maintenance of the organizations.

I am glad to be able to say that girls also take active part in gymnastics. Years ago it used to be considered very unlady-like for a girl to move her arms and legs; but now she does not suffer from any such superstition. Girls to-day take their physical exercises alongside with the boys without any loss of femininity.

Personal hygiene, too, is a branch of public instruction. It should be stated that instruction in hygiene is provided neither by the federal nor by the cantonal government, but by the commune. In the large and prosperous city of Bale, for instance, schools are provided with baths which are under the supervision of some responsible person. Every child is

scheduled to take a bath at least once a week. Towels and soap must be brought to school by the child on each bathing day. Failure to do so gives the pupil a bad grade, just as does tardiness or the failure to recite his lessons. This splendid institution does more than keep the child clean; it prevents careless mothers from actually sewing their children, during the cold months, into the winter-woolens.



Winter Sports of Swiss School Children

Swiss schools take great care to teach their students to be thrifty. Almost every school has a school-bank. Each child on entering the school is given a bank-book with his own name on it. Any one may deposit money for the child, but the child only can withdraw it. Banking hours are fixed usually for every Saturday morning at the first hour of the session. The teacher acts as the teller. The students stand in line, and cheerfully wait their turn to deposit their savings which may not be less than twenty centimes (two annas).

The children are very proud of their bank account, and there is a general rivalry to deposit more than the prerequisite amount. The small savings count up, and a child often ends the school year with a nice little sum to his credit. In order to make this saving attractive, the school-bank pays interest on deposits just as any regular bank does, three percent. The school banking system develops the habit of saving, keeps the pupil from spending cash unnecessarily, and teaches him the value of money. Besides, the children enjoy it all. I recall how wistfully I would stand in line with my weekly saving, even if they amounted to only twenty centimes.

It would take too long to describe the whole educational system from primary schools and secondary schools up to universities. I wish to say, however, that among the famous institutions are the universities of Zurich, Geneva, Bern, Basel, Fribourg, Lausanne and Neuchatel, and the Federal Polytechnic at Zurich, which attracts students from all parts of Europe. There is no use stringing out details; but it should be noted that Switzerland provides ample opportunities for the training of those who do not care to go in for higher education. For special training there are various commercial, technical, agricultural, and other schools. The Swiss people set their hopes for the future and build their ideals around educational institutions.

Here in America many young men and women go to college merely to get a social label, it appears to me. Some of my own



Skiing Sports of Swiss Students

college students in this country look upon their college as a large pleasant social club, as a prestige-conferring institution. It is different in Switzerland. There no one enters a college solely for social purposes. In the Swiss scheme of life, education is prized not only for its resultant economic advantages but also for its spiritual and cultural values, its higher civic usefulness.

Switzerland is a small country with a population of less than four millions. Its physical area comprises nearly 16,000 square miles, and almost equals that of the State of Jyampur in India. Even a small country is not without significance, as the history of the Netherlands, Greece, or Palestine illus-

trates.* Mere bulk does not necessarily mean proportionate greatness, as Africa demonstrates. The Swiss are, however, a heterogeneous people who lack unity of race, language, and religion. They do not have a national language. Territorially, Switzerland is divided into twenty-two cantons, of which sixteen speak German, a little over four speak French, about one and a half speak Italian, and in a very small section of the country they still speak another language called Romansch. It is a corruption of the ancient Latin. In addition to these languages, there are numerous dialects, and sometimes they are so different that some people find difficulty in understanding one another in the same locality. For general convenience, the Swiss have made two official languages: French and German. These two languages must be spoken fluently by the members of the Federal Court. Most of the railroad officials are required to have a fair speaking knowledge of three languages, and those engaged in business can often converse in four.

A Swiss is a Jack of all languages, so to speak. Like most people of Switzerland, I learned French and German not to mention a number of local dialects in my early teens. Later while attending colleges and universities in Italy, Spain and the United States, I acquired Italian, Spanish and English. I maintain that though I feel quite at home in five languages, I love the land of my birth as passionately as one born in a country where he is doomed to speak but one tongue. I do not wish to declaim about it, but neither am I ashamed to say that patriotism with me is an enduring reality, a species of religion. As the word nation is used in the bright lexicon of some of the imperialistic European politicians, Switzerland cannot be a nation. Plain nonsense. If these men ever get their mental sight cleared, they will see they are mistaken. Switzerland, in spite of its diversities in geography, race, religion and language, is most emphatically a nation. The national consciousness and solidarity of the Swiss people is an immutable fact.

Switzerland, the home of many tongues and many races, has been practically an independent country almost as long as the Alps have gazed upon the Swiss. Their independence was not, however, a free gift

* "In little Palestine in Joshua's time, people had to sleep with their knees pulled up because they couldn't stretch out without a passport."—Mark Twain in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*.

from heaven ; it had to be won by hard struggles. Many were the heroes who gave their lives in the fight for freedom ; but the one who outshines them all, is Wilhelm Tell. Let me briefly sketch his story which is bound up with the origin of the Swiss Confederation.

Wilhelm Tell, the son of a peasant, was a great patriot and a man richly endowed with some of the rarest qualities of human-kind at its best. He lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century when Austria was trying to impose its yoke upon the Swiss. They were oppressed and tyrannised. The outstanding Swiss leaders met in the mountains, on a clearing, and resolved on oath that they would all stand for one and one for all until they succeeded in liberating their nation. The name of this clearing is Rutli.

Tell was not among the oath-bound ; but the Austrian Governor, Gessler by name, realizing that Tell was the leader of his people set upon his destruction. Gessler placed his cap on a pole, and demanded of Wilhelm Tell to do homage to the cap. It was intended to be a deliberate insult. Tell promptly refused to obey the Governor and was condemned to death. He was, however, granted his life on condition of shooting with an arrow an apple placed on the head of his own little boy. A master marksman, Tell shot the apple. At the same time he told Gessler that if he missed the mark and shot his son, he had reserved a second arrow to practise on Gessler himself as a target. Tell was therefore seized and fettered, and carried to Gessler's boat ; but while he was being conveyed to the Governor's castle on the Lake of Lucerne, a terrific storm arose. That was a gorgeous stroke of luck for Tell. The boat was in imminent danger of being lost, and it seemed that the only man who could save it was Tell. He was, therefore, unbound and given charge of the rudder. Skilfully he steered the vessel to a projecting rock. Then quick as a flash he leaped ashore and escaped his tormentors. Soon after, he shot Gessler with his crossbow. That finished him on the spot. Gessler was dead, quite dead. Tell was a man who did nothing by halves. Presently a revolt broke out against the hated Austrian tyrants in which Tell took a prominent part and by which the Forest Cantons gained independence. It was a great day. Wilhelm Tell was hailed as the savior of his country. His name stands high in the scroll of fame.*

Every child in Switzerland knows the Tell story by heart. In every school there is a picture of Wilhelm Tell and his son from whose head he shot the apple. The meadow Rutli was bought by the school children of Switzerland ; it is also kept up by them. Each child pays about two pice a year for the upkeep of the clearing, which in the eyes of the Swiss is almost holy. We used to think it a great privilege to be the joint owners of this sacred spot, the cradle of Swiss liberty.

The history of Switzerland is crowded with many heroic deeds. Under heavy odds the Swiss have won their independence, and they continue to maintain it by a unique system of national defence. There is no standing army ; but the young men, between the ages of 16 and 20, are trained in military drills and the use of firearms for short



Winter Idyl of Swiss School Girls

periods each year. "At 20 they have 60 to 80 days of intensive training" says a recent account, "and each year thereafter until they are 48 they report with full equipment for military inspection, and at stated periods attend training camps of short duration." Gun clubs are found in almost every town and village. Their appeal is direct and personal to every liberty-loving citizen of the Republic. The Swiss, from their youth up, are educated to look upon the whole matter of army service as a joy rather than as a burden. They are, in consequence, always prepared. Moreover, their preparedness gives the surrounding countries a wholesome respect for Switzerland. All of which goes to show what even a small nation, resolute for freedom, can do.

found in Schiller's celebrated drama, *Wilhelm Tell*.

* A popular version of this story is to be



The All-India Women's Conference which held its second session at Delhi under the Presidency of H. H. the Begum-Mother of Bhopal may be considered as a forerunner of a mighty awakening. We have received various reports about this session. Referring to the proceedings of the Conference Mrs. MARGARET E. COUSINS writes :

Every one in Delhi agreed that the Women's Conference was a brilliant success and that it created an effect and an atmosphere of earnestness, capacity, unity and determination to accomplish its ends that have been most impressive.

SRIMATI BANALATA DEBI (Mrs. S. R. DAS) welcomed the delegates as chairman of the Reception Committee which made elaborate arrangements for the entertainment of delegates. We learn from an illuminating news-letter from Mrs. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA, Hon. Organising Secretary of the Conference—



Srimati Banalata Debi
(Mrs. S. R. Das)
Chairman, Reception Committee, All-India
Women's Conference



Miss Janak Kumari Zutshi



A Group of Prominent Lady Delegates at the A. I. Women's Conference

The Conference was a remarkable success from every point of view. The same keen enthusiasm and interest was sustained throughout. The women proved more than ever their matchless gift for public speaking, that given the necessary opportunity they can distinguish themselves in any sphere of work. They showed remarkable skill in handling the various subjects under discussion and rare breath of vision in dealing with problems in a comprehensive way. Their power of organisation was exemplary. The elaborate arrangements and the sumptuous hospitality for the delegates and visitors as well, showed the housewife and the mother in woman at her highest and best with the narrow walls crumbled before that larger self within her that extends the home to the whole humanity and pours forth her love to embrace the whole universe. Nor were the social and cultural sides of the Conference lost sight of. Delightful excursions had been arranged for the delegates and visitors. Visits to the ancient monuments and other places of interest found very ready acceptance on the programme. Then there was a round of At Homes and dinners including a tea party at the Viceregal Lodge by Lady Irwin. One felt that Delhi had been truly Imperial in her hospitality.

She concludes with the following observations:

One special feature of the Conference that needs

mention is the large share of success contributed to it by the Muslim women. They not only attended in large numbers but took an active part in the organising and running of the conference. It is a noteworthy fact that the two biggest national gatherings of India, the Indian National Congress and the All-India Women's Conference, should both have been presided over by Muslims this time. The perfect spirit of understanding and unity with which the two sections of the Indian community worked in the women's Conference has given the lie to the much talked of communal bitterness. The serene figure of H. H. the Begum of Bhopal seemed to form a link between the two communities, each with its own culture and tradition, creating a beautiful union with the synthetic points of affinity and the enriching points of diversity between the two, to hand down to posterity a harmonious oriental culture.

MISS JANAK KUMARI ZUTSHI, daughter of Mr. L. P. Zutshi, Bar-at-law, Allahabad, and of Mrs. LADORANI ZUTSHI, an ardent social and educational worker of the Punjab, topped the list of M.A. candidates in English in 1928. No other lady has achieved such a unique distinction in the history of the Punjab University.



Srimati V. K. Parukutti Nethyaramma, Maharanee of Cochin

SRIMATI V. K. PARUKUTTI NETHYARAMMA, the Maharanee of Cochin is an enlightened Indian lady. She received early education at home and began her English studies after her marriage under the personal supervision of her husband—His Highness the Ruler of the progressive State of Cochin. She takes

active interest in the amelioration of the condition of women in her State and is assiduous in her efforts to better the lot of her sisters. She owns a school of her own and sympathises with all organisations aiming at women's welfare in India.



Another Group of Lady Delegates at the A. I. Women's Conference: Mrs. Hamid Ali (*extreme left*), Mrs. Cousins and Mrs. Naidu (*centre*)

MRS. AHMED SHAH has been nominated to the U. P. Legislative Council as a representative of the Indian Christians. The U. P. is the second province in British India to

enjoy this distinction. MRS. ANASUYA KALE of Nagpur has also been nominated to the C. P. Council last month.

THE GATE OF CLOUDS

By JESSIE STANFORD

The gate of clouds swings slowly to and fro:
The magic keys the sentinel seasons hold;
Behold! beyond Olympus' crown of snow
The land of dreams in majesty unrolled.

Brighter than gems, softer than virgin gold,
The nacreous splendor's palpitating glow;
To lands so fair pace pilgrims, young and old;
The gate of clouds swings slowly to and fro.

See! Through the gate comes Dian with her bow,
Hiding 'mong mountain pines from lovers bold;
There broods my muse mid flowers' perpetual blow;
The magic keys the sentinel seasons hold.

There Beauty breathes superb in faultless mold,
And Muses harp their charmed music's flow!
And Graces teach, all statuesquely stoled,
Behold! beyond Olympus' crown of snow.

Lands of the Orient, in clouds arow—
Visions of earth in heavenly mirage scrolled—
From scenes so fair, oh, Fate, why hold me so
The land of dreams in majesty unrolled?

Fain would I see its beauties manifold:
Ere Eden's matchless glories I shall know,
And bathe my soul in essence—bliss untold—
Prepare me here, sweet Muse, and open throw
The gate of clouds!

We, who are borne on one dark grain of dust
Around one indistinguishable spark
Of star-mist, lost in one lost feather of light,
Can by the strength of our own thought ascend
Through universe after universe; trace their growth
Through boundless time, their glory, their decay;
And, on the invisible road of law, more firm
Than granite, range through all their length and breadth,
Their height, and depth past, present and to come.
ALFRED NOYES

When we see beauty in Nature we are discovering that Nature is not only a body, but *has* or *is* a soul. And the joy we feel is produced by the satisfaction our soul feels in coming into touch and harmony with the soul of Nature. Our soul is recognizing sameness between what is in it and what is in the soul of Nature, and feels joy in the recognition.

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND



Marriage and the Age of Marriage

The National Christian Council Review writes :

There appears to be good hope that the Bill of Sir Hari Singh Gour, which aims at raising the age of consent within the marriage relationship, is to receive friendly consideration in the Assembly. It is sometimes alleged that the appearance of this Bill, as well as of what is known as the Sarda Bill and of other Bills in the Provincial Councils of a similar tenor, is to be placed to the credit of Miss Mayo. Everyone who is acquainted with the facts knows this to be wholly untrue. This 'push' on the subject of the age of marriage and of consent was proceeding actively long before Miss Mayo's book was published. This book has aroused emotions, such as those of humiliation and resentment, that are more likely to retard than to promote reform. Far more powerful than these sinister and doubtful influences has been the steadily increasing influence of enlightened and able Indian women and of the conferences that they have held, culminating in that which met in Delhi last month. When the 'Mother-Begum' of Bhopal, bowed under the burden of her great age, yet takes her place in the front line of advance, surely few—whether from among the Government forces or the orthodox—will be too timid to follow. It is fully time that the Christians of India were taking up again the question of obtaining a new Marriage Act. The old Act has many defects and ambiguities, and lawyers are agreed that it needs revision. Further, it prescribes thirteen as the minimum age of marriage for girls, and with the likelihood of this age being soon advanced, in the case of Hindus, at least to fourteen, Christians ought to be impatient lest they should even appear to be left in the rear. It is true that the actually operative age for marriage is seldom if ever as low as the law permits, and it is true that it has not usually been necessary among Christians in other lands to prescribe a legal limit. But in India the position is different, and Christian and Hindu may well enter into a worthy rivalry in this matter, ensuring that evil tradition is abandoned and that it shall not be possible to bring railing accusations against India as 'a jungle of sex, in which her body and soul are wasting away.'

Islamic Conception of Godhood

The following extract from an article in the *National Christian Council Review*, by Murray T. Titus, is, perhaps, not a fair evaluation of

the Musalman's Concept of God. It however should stimulate Musalman's to make their position clear.

The hard, deistic notion of God held so commonly by Muslims is at best a non-moral being, whose chief attributes are Force and Will. Regardless of Muslim practice and sentiment, at any rate, Muslim theology has no place for the great moral ideas of Holiness and Love. On the contrary, if Christ is in any sense the revelation of God, it is because He gave expression to the essentially moral character of Divinity. The God whom Christ revealed is above all a God of infinite Holiness and infinite Love. The great Christian task is to free the Muslim from the dread of Allah as an inscrutable Despot, and to teach him to pray to 'Our Father.' 'Islam, by the shallowness of its ethical conceptions, drives us to emphasise afresh these two burning attributes of God the Father : His Holiness and His Love.' In his ethical blindness the Muslim cannot see how the Cross can become the sign of victory over sin, and the problem of evil. None can who have not a living experience of sins forgiven. The Muslims must be led to enthrone God morally at all costs. God is indeed one ; God is indeed Almighty. But He who is not Holiness and Love is not God !

Untouchables among Animals and Plants

It is interesting to note how the Hindu idea of untouchability does not restrict itself to men only ; but also applies to animals and plants. *Man in India* publishes an account of this by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, which we reproduce below :

One disposed to hold friendly intercourse with others is called social. The others with whom he associates are generally of his own kind, belonging usually to his country, his own district, his own town or village, to his own house or to his own family. With this social intercourse, a society is built and the society's doings when given a scientific turn become what is known as sociology. Thus Sociology deals with the "associated life of humanity." But Hindu sociology appears to be wider, embracing as it does animals and plants. The Hindu social rules divide humanity into various grades, the primary divisions being touchable and untouchable. The touchables are again divided into 4 classes, the well-known Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, but the untouchables have no such divisions. In fact, they are relegated to the last class, the Sudras, who thus get

divided into two sections, the touchable Sudras and the untouchable Sudras. If the touchables happen to touch the untouchables, they get polluted and have to purify themselves generally by taking a bath. This sociological rule has been extended to the lower animals and plants. There are also Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras amongst them and also touchables and untouchables. A bullock is a Brahman, a lion, a tiger or a horse is a Kshatriya, a fox is a Bania, an ass, a pig, a lizard, and a vulture are Sudras. In fact, the Sudras just named are untouchables. Their touch does not pollute their own kind, but it pollutes the Hindus. If they happen to touch them they must purify themselves by taking a bath. Similarly in the vegetable kingdom, Pipal and Bar are Brahmans. They are invested with the sacred thread. People of all classes would prostrate themselves before them. They dare not uproot them or cut their branches. They are extremely afraid of their displeasure. They propitiate them with offerings as they would do in the case of a live Brahman. Then there are the low-caste trees just like Hiwar (Reongha) which is considered to be a Mahar and Mehndi (Hina) which is a Chamarin. Nobody would use sticks of these plants as tooth-brush, as being of low caste they would pollute the mouth. They would not use faggots of these plants in the kitchen, as food cooked with their aid would get polluted.

The examples I have quoted above refer to prejudices met with in the Central Provinces. It would be an interesting thing to collect information from other provinces to show this curious evolution of high and low on the Indian soil. It would be still more interesting to collect examples of such a development amongst other people outside India, and to ascertain whether they are still prevalent or have become obsolete.

Travellers' Adventure in the Heart of Asia

The following thrilling account which we reproduce from *Buddhist India*, was originally contributed by Lt. Col. P. T. Etherton to the *Weekly Despatch*. Wrote the Colonel :—

The heart of Asia still holds first place in the realm of mystery and romance, especially that unexplored corner of the Kuen Lun mountains in South-Eastern Turkistan, where the Chinese hold shadowy dominion over the highest inhabited portion of the globe, a mountain maze that is still a sealed book to the rest of the world.

There I found a strange Buddhist sect who have as near neighbours more than a score of peaks exceeding a height of twenty three thousand feet, and glaciers covering hundreds of square miles.

This curious sect numbering not more than six hundred, are doing penance for the rest of the world, for the sins of you and me and all mankind, and in their monastery hewn out of the solid rock they are completely isolated from the world beyond, unmindful of great wars and upheavals and the rise and fall of empires.

They are following what they conceive to be the original precepts of their ancient religion as expounded by the Buddha six hundred years before the birth of Christ.

I will pass over the journey thither and come direct to the discovery of the monastery. I and my small party had reached it after infinite toil and pain amidst the rapids and ravines of the world's highest range.

For days we had run the gauntlet of snow-slides and avalanches, and at dusk reached the summit of a pass—at an altitude of 18,000 feet—beyond which lay the monastery I was in search of.

Slowly we worked our way to the foot of the pass, over glaciers and along the edge of yawning crevasses, by walls of snow and ice, and across torrents that swept through the canyon like a millrace, where one false step when jumping from rock to rock meant an icy grave.

At dusk we reached a point where the canyon widened to some two hundred yards, with a patch of barley, the only cereal growing at this altitude, whence a rocky path led off into a side ravine to the monastery.

Finally, we reached a clearing at a sudden turn in the path and saw before us a rough stone structure built into and alongside the edge of the ravine. Remembering its reputation, its inaccessibility, and the weird stories connected with the sect, I could not help wondering what would happen once inside the monastery.

I had intended camping without, but the abbot, who greeted me dressed in a dirty yellow robe and with a shaven pate, insisted on my staying, within the great building; so accepting his hospitality, I followed him through the gateway.

Here other monks joined us, dressed in long coarse robes similar to the monks of Europe, and together we passed up a flight of stone steps into a corridor that seemed to be hollowed out of the mountain. We went along this passage for perhaps seventy yards. Then branched off into a smaller one that twisted and turned until I lost all sense of direction.

At last we reached a small doorway on which the abbot knocked. It was swung back and we filed through. All this time not a sound had been uttered, the whole place was wrapt in semi-darkness, and the air of mystery and general uncanny procedure of my ghostly attendants was far from cheering.

We next ascended a spiral stairway which led to a small landing lighted by a long slit in the wall, from which I gathered that we must be at the side of the monastery overlooking the ravine, but the crevice in the wall being ten feet above me I was uncertain of my bearings.

From the landing we entered a room like a cell, about ten feet by six feet, and at least twenty feet in height. In one corner was a narrow ledge of rock that served as a bed, a rough chair of wood and goatskin and a large earthen pitcher. This was all it contained, and as the other rooms leading off from it and the landing were bare of any furniture, I had perforce to consider myself domiciled in luxury. The etiquette of the monastery apparently required that all conversation should be in so low a tone as to be practically whispered.

The abbot then served tea flavoured with rancid butter, and some coarse brown cakes resembling oaten cakes, but nothing like so palatable as the Highland variety. I was both hungry and thirsty, so the frugal repast was as corn in Egypt.

Having started me on the meal, the abbot departed with his attendant monks, adding that so long as I was within the monastic walls he considered me as his guest, and all my wants would be ministered to by himself or his immediate entourage.

Now, although I have a fair bump of locality, I realized how difficult it would be to find my way out into the open should necessity arise, but dismissing such possibilities from my mind I sat down on the ledge, and awaited developments.

Night closed over the lonely monastery and after another scanty meal I wrapped myself in my blankets and lay down on my rocky couch. The wind moaned and shrieked through the crevice and up the stairway, the light from an oil lamp on the floor throwing weird shadows across the room, while anon, dark figures silent and ghostly passed in front of the door. Once or twice during the night I awoke from a fitful sleep, and found a cleaked and spectral figure making a tour of my room.

At last, some time before dawn, I heard the low chant of voices in unison, a wailing note as of souls in torment. I jumped up and went to the doorway; not a sign of anyone, only the distant sound of that depressing dirge.

Perhaps it was midnight service? As I stood there listening a shadow appeared upon the wall and a huge bat flashed past within an inch of my face. It galvanized me into activity, and, donning coat and boots, I set off down the passage in the direction of the music.

Threading many passages, twisting and turning this way and that, I came to an open doorway with a verandah beyond it, then a courtyard leading to a building opposite. I crossed the courtyard and peered in through the half-closed doorway.

Before me was a chamber about one hundred and twenty feet long and sixty or seventy broad. It was but dimly lighted, with oil and wicks in clay bowls, emitting volumes of black soot and smoke. Kneeling on the stone floor were the members of this extraordinary sect, droning the song of remorse, bewailing the sins of those countless millions who had gone before, of those millions scattered throughout the earth's wide surface who were still a living force, and of those millions yet unborn whom it might be possible to turn into the right path.

Picture, if you can, courtyard set in an amphitheatre of mountains, the loftiest peaks in the world, the pale light of the moon, the ghostly oil lamps, and the hundreds of kneeling figures intoning that supreme chant to an omnipotent power. It would have stirred the feelings of a Nero.

As I retraced my steps across the courtyard I heard faint sounds of voices from the side flush with the mountain. Curiosity, but perhaps irresistible fascination, drew me there. I saw openings some eighteen inches square in the rock, and a similar chant as from the great hall issued from them.

Was it an echo or merely an hallucination? I

struck a match and peered through one of the openings. Gradually the form of a human being with emaciated figure and glassy eyes became outlined against the light. It seemed to be looking at me from another world. Then it lowered its eyes and continued the chant.

I hurried from the courtyard, from those living tombs, regained my room, and lay down, but not to sleep. Dawn came and with it my departure from the monastery towards that great world of sin and sorrow with its wars and upheavals and all the consequences that come in their wake.

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The Education of Women in India

R. Krishna Bai, B. A., L. T., writes in the *Non Brahmin Youth* on the ideals of women's education in India. She begins by quoting Lord Avebury :

Well has Lord Avebury put : 'Reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar do not constitute education any more than a knife, a spoon and a fork constitute a dinner.' Education is then a preparation for life and, if applied in the true sense, it 'helps us to live.'

Then she states our ideals of the really educated woman in the following way :

What is really wanted is to bring back the lost culture, art and religion and keep up the individuality of Indian womanhood. The function of pedagogy, hence, is to organize the mind with knowledge and give it the impetus to perfect itself by self-immersion which is the same as self-realisation. Though centuries of neglect on the part of our countrymen have visibly dimmed the glory of Indian womanhood, though whirlwind after whirlwind of foreign invasions thrust various changes over the head of Aryavarta, the key stone of the arch of Indian womanhood stands unshaken, unimpaired still. It is because our women did not try to imitate man and compete with him in his lines of work. It would be a sad mistake indeed if woman, dazzled by the present ideas of freedom and equal rights, should forget that in her hands lies the future happiness and progress of the country. I do not certainly mean that women should have no activities beyond the family. The whole world is her realm and whatever may be her chosen sphere of activity, let her not lose her individuality and mechanise life. Let us not imitate another nation. We are children of an ancient civilisation, we inherited a glorious past and we are proud of her past and ardently wish to be proud of our future. The glory of our future depends on the homes of the present. To woman then belongs the greatest privilege—the careful tending and educating the future citizens of 'Bharata Ma'a.' Her mission is greater than that of the politician. But as Rabindranath Tagore, our honoured poet, says : "It is not that every woman should be made to learn the culinary art or that she should have no higher ambition than to be a home-manager." We want politicians like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi to fight for our long neglected rights ; at the same time, let us not neglect our

homes for the Law Courts and Legislative Councils entirely. I am not opposed to women entering politics, we need them absolutely to make "men in power" realise their long-forgotten duty to women, but I am certainly opposed to larger numbers entering public life leaving their much-needed social work at home and in society. As Mrs. Sarojini Naidu aptly warned in the recent Notional Social Conference, let not "new ideals of liberty affect the cherished notions of Indian womanhood." We want our Savitris, Sitas and Dumayantis to once more glorify the annals of History. There has been no break in the glorious History of women till the time when English education gave a new culture to man in which she had no share till now and which carried him away into a new world, while she remained ignorant at home. We have illustrious names like Padmini of Chittore, Meera Bai the Poetess, Tara Bai the skilled Warrior. Do not these names shine out as brilliant stars in the sky of our Nation's history? Now that the gap is being filled up gradually by enthusiastic champions of woman's cause, and that women have given ample proof that they are not in any way inferior in intellectual capacity to men, it is high time we looked into the kind of education that women should get, in order to enable her to perform the duties of a woman successfully.

Finally, she goes a little into the details of curricula. She says:

A girl who stops after passing the elementary stage should be able to possess an elementary knowledge of subjects that are useful in every day life, e.g., hygiene, first aid, domestic science, general principles of nursing the sick, care of children, in addition to the instruction she gets. Besides, the present system of education is sadly neglecting the development of the finer faculties in man; the aesthetic sense. It is deplorable to hear our girls complain of "monotony in drawing lessons and dislike in the singing classes." It is no real education which does not develop all the higher imaginative faculties. Music "the universal language of mankind" and art "the science of the beautiful" should find a place in schools and colleges. To respect art and music is a national as well as individual duty as their influence tends to develop the best moral virtues, teach reverence, beget unselfishness, elevate the mind, and create a dislike for all that is mean, and ignoble. We, a nation whose aesthetic understanding has been deadened by generations of foreign notions of culture and teaching, have now to stimulate instead of suppress in our young, the lively inborn artistic sense of our people. Set out Art and Music free to follow the natural channel, remove the impediments that are placed in their course and without doubt they can minister to the intellectual needs of Mother India. Let us get rid of that false culture which blinds the eyes and stops the ears of our girls, to all that the sublime nature art and melodies of our own country have to teach them. Let education give the impetus to the powers of observation to appreciate beauty of form, and line to understand beauty, to enjoy and feel it; for it is towards realising the divine beauty on which the universe rests that all the hopes of humanity are centred. If the aesthetic spirit which is more natural in women, and which is the

motive force to develop all the higher intellectual faculties, is kept out of the newly formed Indian Universities they will only establish, rather perpetuate, all the evils of the old. They must make way for Art and Music. Then and only then will there be any hope for the revival of our past culture. The Andhra University has recently included Music and Art as one of the faculties and has also instituted a Degree. Let those who have the faculties and opportunities to take up University courses specialise according to their special aptitudes, but let those who want education to prepare them to take up the noble mission of women train themselves in that groove. India needs mothers at present; "good mothers" to lead the home, to instil into the future sons the noble ideals of life and citizenship. "This done", as Rabindranath Tagore says, "the country will be a heaven of man and woman—a world of love, service and sacrifice."

Higher Politics in Feudatory States

The following items are reproduced from the *Feudatory and Zemindary India*.

The Council of Administration of the State of Bhavnagar is pleased to prohibit the bringing into the State by sea or land any copy of the pamphlet "India" published by G. S. Dara, London.

A recent order in Rajpipla State, lays down that all meetings proposed to be held either in a private or public place, are prohibited unless the organizers nearly ten days before the meeting is convened obtain the permission of the District Magistrate after explaining fully the objects and the agenda to be placed for discussion. The order states that the restriction is necessitated on account of possibility of feelings running high on either political or communal questions: Any meeting held in defiance of the order would be considered as an unlawful assembly.

Theory and Practice of Mughal Kingship

R. P. Khosla, M. A., I. E. S. writes in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* on how the Mughal kings side-stepped the quranic Law in order to enjoy absolutely autocratic powers over their subjects. We read:

In theory the Mughal king was under the holy law, but the latter was a region of speculation and vagueness when applied to the practical powers of the king. Law and political theory are considered in the Muslim world to be as much derived from divine revelation as is religious dogma. Islam did not recognise the institution of kingship to start with. It believed in the democracy of the people. Hence the absence of any particular rules in the holy Quran for the guidance of kings who are subject to the same laws as others. There is no distinction between the canon law and the law of the state. Law being of divine origin demands as much the obedience of the king as of the peasant. The king may be a

mujtahid—an authority on law, but his legal decisions are limited to an interpretation of the law in its application to such particular problems as may from time to time arise. He is in no sense a creator of new legislation. It is the duty of a king to uphold the authority of the Islamic law and to keep himself within the four walls of it. The dignified rank of sultanate comes after the great law. But when applied to actual cases the purely theoretic character of the holy law is liable to prevent it from serving as an effective check on the sovereign authority.

In practice the Mughal kings exercised greater authority than that claimed by any kings in the west who based their claims to sovereignty on divine right. Though the Mughal kings were not above the holy law they enjoyed complete sovereignty in the state. The subjects were expected to submit to every ordinance issued by the monarch. The royal authority was not limited by any coronation oath which could, by a stretch of imagination, be interpreted as a compact between the ruler and the ruled. No forms of constitutional checks existed anywhere and the cry of popular rights was never heard. The power of the reigning authority was all-embracing and there was no distinction made between *de facto* and *de jure* sovereign. The royalty was wrapped up in a golden haze of sanctity and the king was veritably regarded as the shadow of God. Monarchy being a divinely ordained institution, obedience to the king was a religious as well as a political dogma. When Askari Mirza rebelled against Humayun he is said to have exclaimed one night while he was engaged in drinking wine, "Am not I a king, God's representative on earth?" Every Mughal king regarded himself as the vicegerent of God. His power was unconditioned by any constitutional restraints and he was the sole interpreter of his will. The doctrines of the right of resistance, popular sovereignty, and the merely official character of kingship were meaningless terms.

The position of the monarch was further strengthened by the secular nature of the Mughal state. Though the holy law was theoretically supreme, the ulama, who were the only authoritative exponents of the holy law, were never allowed to become supreme in the state. The dangerous character of their power was easily recognised by the Mughal kings who kept them under strict control and thus prevented the creation of a state within a state. Though theoretically the Quranic law was the only law recognised and all civil law was subordinate to it, the king's wish was the real law in practice. Though the king was expected to make the precepts of the sacred law effective in every department of administration, in actual practice the wheels of the state machinery moved according to the royal will and royal will alone. The secular power claimed and enjoyed complete supremacy. The Mughal kings always considered it dangerous for the state to give the spiritual power a free hand in political matters, as that would have fettered the action of the state in a thousand ways and clogged the wheels of the governmental machinery. It was unsafe to make the ulama the ultimate arbiters of political action. The Mughals like their predecessors the Pathans were ever jealous of clericalism. The ecclesiastical organisation was never allowed to be strong enough to put forward an effective claim to control and

direct the action of the king. It might be used as a convenient instrument by the king as the court of ecclesiastical commission was used by the Tudors and the Stuarts in England, but it could never act as a check upon the royal authority. The ulama were held in great esteem, but they were never allowed any hand in determining the policy of the state. There was never any danger of an *imperium in imperio*. No synod of divines or doctors of law was powerful enough to act as a check on the king's will.

As practical instances of secular domination of the clergy we find the following in Mr. Khosla's paper :

The submission of the clergy to the Mughal king was as complete as it was in the case of Henry VIII of England. There are not many fatwas issued by the ulema against the Mughal kings. It is true that the heretical doctrines of Akbar did provoke an adverse criticism, and Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the kazi-ul-kuzzat of Jaunpur, issued a fatwa insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the emperor on this account, the net result was nil. The lay power succeeded in establishing its supremacy, even to the point of persecuting the teachers of all doctrines which it regarded as harmful. When the Mulla Muhammad Yazdi excited a rebellion against Akbar and was joined by Muhammad Maqum Kabuli, Muhammad Maqum Khan Farankhudi, Mir Muizz-ul-Mulk, Nayabat Khan, Arab Bahadur and others, the whole thing ended in a failure. In vain did the imam condemn the emperor for having made serious encroachments on the grant-lands belonging to the church and to God. The mulla was decoyed and put in a boat. When the boat got in deep waters, as we learn from Badaoni, "the sailors were ordered to swamp the boat of the mulla's life." The mullas of Lahore were banished and all the mullas who were suspected of disaffection by Akbar were sent to "the closet of annihilation."

Not all this secular autocracy was due to mere love of power. Much of it was engendered by demands of statesmanship ; for we read,

In this secularisation of the state the Mughal kings showed themselves to be good statesmen. In a country where the bulk of the population consisted of non-Muslims the views of the orthodox ulema would not have proved very helpful in matters of statecraft, and any successful insistence on the observance of the ulema's views would have been followed by disastrous results for the stability of the State. Thus the state never became the mere handmaid of an ecclesiastical corporation, and the supreme direction of politics was never placed in the hands of the rulers of the church. The policy of the government during the greater part of the Mughal period was not regulated in the interests of a theological system. The Mughal kings never bowed their heads before the clerical power. Any departure from this policy of maintaining the supremacy of the secular power would have placed the action of the state under the control of a body of persons who were not experts in statesmanship and whose acquaintance with the

intricacies of the governmental machinery was not very intimate. The supremacy of the temporal power was on the whole good for the state and ensured its stability.

So that by religious toleration the Mughal tyrants did not understand toleration of religious fanaticism. They tolerated religious views and activities only so far as they helped good government and social progress. Toleration of anti-social religious fanaticism was a political ideal of post-Mughal origin.

Was Lanka in Africa ?

The following extract relating to the above question is taken from the *Vedic Magazine*.

Ruins of ancient granite buildings discovered in South Africa, have led to a number of surmises as to the people that lived in those parts. One supposition is that the site perhaps is of the ancient Lanka of Ramayana. The plenty of gold found in that locality agrees well with the description of Lanka as a country of gold.

The ruins lie in the heart of the continent several hundred miles away from the coast at Zimbabwe, which is about 17 miles from Port Victoria in a straight line with the old East African port of Sofala. A branch line to Port Victoria shoots from Gwelo which is half-way on the Bulamayo-Salisbury railway of the Rhodesian system. There in the wild heart of Mashonaland, buried by a foliage amid secluded hills and valleys where probably no modern white man had previously trodden, granite ruins of vanished civilisation were discovered in 1863 by a wandering hunter.

The ruins consist of several granite edifices of which the largest is a rough oval. There are no roofs and between these two major ruins are traces of several minor structures. The walls of the oval are in places thirty-five feet high and sixteen feet thick at their base. They are wholly constructed of small well chiselled granite blocks cleverly fitted together without mortar. There are no inscriptions, and the structures themselves do not show signs of great age. The granite shows very little discoloration or mouldering, and the chisel marks on the granite are in many places undimmed. The ruins are of far greater dimensions and more solid build than anything else seen in Rhodesia.

DATE AND ORIGIN OF RUINS

Two theories have been advanced in connection with the date and origin of the ruins. On the ground of mediæval objects having been found in such position as to be necessarily contemporaneous with the foundations of the building a set of thinkers conclude that the structures do not date back to more than 600 years. They also point to the similarity of design of various later Rhodesian structures and advance that the builders were local natives. This theory would

imply that the natives of Central and South Africa had only 600 years ago "knowledge, skill, initiative, and a mode of life comparing not in favourably with that of mediæval Europe."

But there is another theory, placing the Zimbabwe ruins somewhere in remote antiquity. According to it, "when what are now Britain and France were still barbaric countries, a foreign civilisation flourished in Zimbabwe." The scholars who have made this theory their own point to the finding of soda-water bottles in the ruins by subsequent excavators and state in connection with the absence of inscriptions that there are numerous ruins without inscriptions along the Persian Gulf in Mesopotamia and Southern Arabia. At the same time it is not improbable that the native builders of Rhodesia subsequently initiated the design and form of Zimbabwe buildings.

The Bantus, natives of Rhodesia, have never been builders of stone structures elsewhere and are even to-day entirely in a rudimentary stage. The builders must have been foreigners who colonised this spot.

Rhodesia and Transvaal are even at this date minerally the richest countries of the world. They must have been so even in remote ages and the antiquity school allege that some foreign people, now wiped off and forgotten, may have had a colony at Zimbabwe for exploiting the mineral wealth of this territory. The ruins represent this ancient colony.

Hundreds of old workings have been discovered both in Rhodesia and Transvaal, making it abundantly clear that gold was once mined on a large scale in these regions. Modern metallurgists have examined them and agree that "the vanished miners knew a good deal of metallurgy and throughout the country successfully handled hundreds of thousands of tons of rather intractable ore." The gold extracted by these ancient miners is valued in present-day terms at not less than 75,000,000 pounds.

WHO EXTRACTED THIS GOLD ?

Who extracted this gold ? If the Bantus did it, they must have been a very different people from what they are now. If foreigners did it, who were they ? We must go to the history of ancient peoples. The Phoenicians, a sea-faring people, had, it is known, inexhaustible resources of wealth. The mines of King Solomon are known and the Ramayana of Valmiki describes Lanka, the city of Gold. Do all these things refer to a common gold-mining colony in the South ?

Ravana, the King of Lanka, lived across the seas, many miles distant from the Indian shore, much more distant than Ceylon which we generally identify with Lanka. He was the devotee of Siya who is worshipped in a phallic form. He belonged to the Rakshas race and the characteristic features of life and form in Lanka, as described in the Ramayana, are intense scientific activity, material wealth and universally gigantic proportions. Though there are no inscriptions, symbols of the sun and the hawk have been found on the Zimbabwe ruins and the interior of cone of the ruined temple at Zimbabwe has "similarities also to the two very large phalli about thirty cubits high described by Lucian as standing in the temple of Hieropolis in Meso-

potamia." May these not be traces of Ravana's phallic worship?

In fact, a study of the ruins reveals considerable organization, military, mining and colonial. The structures at Timbaz are not ornamental, they are not even strictly symmetrical, but they impress one with their proportion and skill. Zumbazwe may have been not only a metropolis but a centre of great colonial activity on the part of some foreign people. As such, it is well worth a visit by Indian students, scholars as well as sightseers.

A New Port for Western India

The Mysore Economic Journal gives the following account of Okha, a new port that is being developed in Western India.

In Western India, besides the well-known Ports of Bombay and Karachi, there are no other Ports approachable all the year round by large vessels and where the vessels can remain at anchor, sheltered from the storms on the open sea, specially during the south-west monsoon and discharge their cargo directly on a pier. The Peninsula of Kathiawar has over 300 miles of coast line but notwithstanding this extent, there are no really good harbours except at Okha near Beyt at the north-west corner of Kathiawar. Okha is on the extreme west point of Kathiawar near latitude 22°35' N. and longitude 69°15'. It is at the mouth of the Gulf of Cutch and lies midway between Bombay and Karachi. At this place, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda have recently opened to traffic the Port of Okha. The new Port is most favourably situated for traffic, particularly as it is a safe-all-weather Port designed and constructed for steamers of about 25 feet draft and connected with the Railways of Kathiawar, Northern Gujarat and Rajputana.

India in Empire Economics

In the same journal J. E. Woolacott pleads for India that she may not be forgotten by Empire economists as a fruitful source of profit to British manufactures. The author says:

A description of the greatest of the irrigation works now under construction of India, the Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage and Canals Project, contains the arresting statement that while the whole area of Egypt comprises 8,460,000 acres, with an actual cultivation of 5,400,000 acres, the Indian project will provide for an annual irrigation of 5,900,000 acres in a total commanded area of 8,132,000 acres. It is, indeed, impossible for any one who has not actually visited India to visualize its enormous extent and its almost unlimited economic possibilities. And it is to be feared that in the visions of some ardent believers in the future of the British

Empire, India finds no place. Yet India to-day is the greatest market in the world for the manufactures of Great Britain. A country which in a single year absorbs British goods to the value of £90,000,000 is a factor of the greatest importance in the Empire's well-being. But in the many discussions that have arisen regarding the prospects of British commerce and the imperative need for developing markets for British manufactures, how seldom it is that the importance of India finds the recognition it deserves. Nor is it adequately appreciated that to-day the purchases of British merchandise by the Indian peoples comprise more than half their total purchases from abroad.

We are afraid there are no very great fears of the Empire economists forgetting India's claims as the most important field for exploitation by the white section of that Empire.

Hindu University Convocation Address

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir delivered his address as Pro-chancellor, to the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University on the 9th December 1927. The address has been printed in the *Benares Hindu University Magazine*. His Highness laid very great emphasis on the need of universal physical culture and regular Military Training for students and stated what he thought to be the ideal of student life very clearly. He said,

The value of a Residential University can best be demonstrated in the facilities it can afford for the building up of good character. Let your goal be the culture of "Self-reverence, Self-knowledge, Self-control; which three alone lead to Sovereign power." One cannot fail to be struck with the mistaken notions about liberty that often prevail in the minds of some young men. True liberty consists in freedom to do what one ought, not freedom to do what one wills, which only deteriorates into licence and wanton depravity. Learn to control yourself; for moral self-government alone can prepare you for any higher form of political self-government. Cultivate the habit of self-reverence. We have indeed every reason to be proud of our ancestors, our ancient culture and our glorious civilisation; but do not let any undue bias for antiquity deter you from your duty to posterity. Reverence for the ancient Aryavarta can never be incompatible with an eager solicitude for the elevation and re-generation of Mother India. But with this end in view, "Act, act in the living present"; and "above all in the words of Shakespeare, to thine ownself be true; so that thou canst not then be false to any man." Service and Sacrifice ought to be the twin-vows of your modern Brahmacharya. Our land has been well-known for the spirit of Chivalry. If that Age has gone from the present day Western World of

Sophisters and Economists, let not that same cancer eat up the vitals of our ancient culture. Never fail to set a high value on a habit of deference and reverence to your elders and of proud submission to rank and sex which is the true test of an abiding civilisation.

Russian Peasantry

K. Kocaroveky Zemgor supplies the following information to the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.

1. The village population of Russia equals 85 per cent of the whole population of Russia, and a considerable part of its industry is to be found in the villages being by its nature non-capitalistic home industry.

2. Already before the revolution the rural economy was rapidly passing into the hands of the peasants: if more than a third of the land was in the hands of rich landlords, they possessed only 10 per cent of seedings, and only 6 per cent of the cattle. With each decennary the peasant economy progressed fast and faster, the showing of grass and farming with crop-rotation of more than three fields was spread over a considerable part of Russia. After having been crushed by bolshevism it is now anew returning to its restoration.

3. The most part of Russian peasantry is a homogenous working mass. The statistics of bolshevists, who wait for its capitalistic "stratification into layers," show among them only 9/10 per cent. of small capitalists and even this percentage does not increase.

4. About three-fourths of the peasants possess land in common, as members of community; this form of communal land-owning had developed during the last centuries and has considerably improved after the abolition of servitude: the repartition of parcels became more and more equal, the community adapted itself more and more to the progress of the rural economy. During the regime of Stolipine from 1907 to 1917 about 1/4 of community peasants were artificially eliminated out of communities, but during the revolution the most part of them have returned into communities whereas independent farms are to be found almost exclusively in the narrow western strip of Russia. The whole land revolution was based on the community, which is at present stronger and more progressive than ever and just on it is based the state exploitation of land by working masses, which existed already before the revolution.

5. After the first revolution of 1905 co-operation developed with an extraordinary speed—in banking consuming, buying and selling and in barter of every sort. In 1917 at least 2-3 of the Russian peasantry were already unified by these co-operative associations, which were working solidly and successfully. The bolshevists had entirely destroyed this organisation, but during the last years it is restoring anew.

6. Russian peasantry is energetically striving for instruction and culture and has already much done in this respect. Russian peasants established schools, helped the schools of zemstvos, had done more for the enlightenment than those of the nobility.

After 1905 the peasants began to organize in villages middle schools, libraries, lectures, folk-houses, choruses, theatres etc. All this was stopped by the bolshevists, but during the last years the independent activity of the peasantry is restoring. Just before the revolution the Russian village was on the point of reaching, after a lapse of only 7 years, the general instruction and in this regard the village was always going ahead of the towns.

What is a Good Diet

The *Federation Gazette* says:

The accustomed diet of the people of this country, be it based upon rice or *atta*, or upon meat, is in almost all cases, defective and excessive. The food is first deprived of its best and most nutritious parts when the rice is husked and polished and the *atta* is ground fine and white, or the potatoes are peeled, and then it is spoiled by cooking which slowly destroys the vital properties, i. e. the "vitamins," which are essential to good health.

Man is the only animal that cooks its food. The less the food is cooked the better it is. The longer it is cooked the more it loses its vital properties or vitamins. The combination of cooking with the removal of the valuable and nutritious skins and inner husks of vegetables, fruits and grain, leads to a deficiency in diet of the vital elements which create and maintain life, and further leads to excess in eating in the effort to make up for these deficiencies.

Further the accustomed diets of most races, be they based upon rice, upon *atta* or upon meat are all one-sided. The habit is to eat too often of one thing, such as rice and to eat too much of it and so to clog the body with a quantity of starch which it cannot digest. A balanced diet must contain fresh fruits and vegetables in ample quantity, and should, if possible, include good clean milk, and these things should not be cooked or boiled for more than a few minutes and would be better not cooked at all.

The quantity of any one article of diet of a staple nature such as rice, *atta* or meat should be kept small, and balanced by the addition of fresh fruits, green vegetables and milk, so that the total diet will contain a balanced combination of the essential products, carbohydrates, fats and mineral salts together with an ample supply of the essential vital elements.

Work for the Blind in Germany

We learn from *Light to the Blind* the following about work done by Postwar Germany for her blind nationals.

Miss Marian Feuchtwanger of New Haven, Connecticut, spent the summer of 1926 studying methods of work for the sightless in Europe. In an interview published in the New Haven Register she tells of the efforts of the German Government in behalf of war and civilian blind.

When loss of sight came to Miss Feuchtwanger fourteen years ago she was a school-teacher in New Haven. She is now giving the greater part of her time to furthering the cause of blind people in her own city and state, declaring that her chief aim is the procuring of suitable and congenial as well as remunerative occupations for those without sight. Of her study abroad she says:

"All of the European nations are doing splendid work for the blind. They were forced to it at the end of the World War by the sad realization that countless thousands of their returning soldiers were sightless and these men came back to civil life helpless, desolate and despirited, their means of livelihood gone and their hearts filled with bitterness and despair.

"Germany, with more of these blind soldiers than all the other countries, sought almost desperately for ways of helping them. She put into the task every ounce of resourcefulness and talent which she could muster and called to her assistance the ablest minds in the country. Work for the blind became of paramount importance and as a consequence it went ahead with leaps and bounds. Germany to-day is among the countries of the world that lead in their efforts for making better the condition of the needy blind, as well as of those who want to take their places once more in the community of which they were once active citizen.

"The first task was to restore, so far as possible, the confidence and fighting spirit of the stricken men, and it was no light undertaking.

"Only one who has lost his sight can realize the utter desolation which temporarily paralyzes even the bravest and best fortified when first engulfed in that blackness in which all sense of time, space and direction are lost.

"To lift this mantle of blackness, then to give to the sightless soldiers some measure of their former independence, to help them regain a sense of time and direction, this was the task to which all Germany turned with a will. Many things were tried. Some availed and some did not.

"Then the world-renowned police dogs were called in to help. From the first they were a success. Trained in the finest kennels of Germany by the thousand, they form one of the most touching and astonishing sights in that country to-day, as they lead their blind masters about the streets. They escort their blind charges through the crowds, halt at crossings until they receive the signal to go, steer them into cars and buses, take them to empty seats and guide them into buildings and elevators in a way that is very nearly human.

"It was soon found that the soldier who could go about with his dog was a soldier partly adjusted. The blackness began to lift a little when he could come and go as in former days.

"Then the watch for the sightless was made and presented to him and his sense of time returned and with that his fighting spirit awoke and his cure was assured.

"While this much was in process of accomplishment, plans for helping the blind soldier to earn his living were being formulated.

"A great movement was launched to encourage him wherever possible, to do his pre-war work. This was a staggering task for him but such was the spirit of the entire German nation and such a wealth of help and co-operation was given that to-day blind men are doing excellent work in almost every conceivable trade profession and industry. Mechanics have gone back to their machines, tradesmen to their crafts, scholars to their desks, and scientists to their laboratories. Even in such trades as tailoring and cobbling blind men are working side by side with the sighted.

"For the cultured classes, the blind intelligentsia as they are called in Germany, it has undoubtedly been the hardest, but they have set wonderful examples to the others by their unflinching courage and cheerfulness.

"Early in the work here was a call for books for the blind and suddenly it seemed as if every one who could see was making books for those who could not.

"They were turned out in such numbers that many of them were distributed and lost, an unheard of thing, for books for the blind are scarce and precious. Each one is a treasure and such a thing as losing track of even one, in normal times, is almost unforgivable.

"Now, when the German people began to make books for their blind soldiers they found that it was slow work since they could make but one copy at a time. Inventors began to work on a machine which would more nearly do the work of an ordinary typewriter, and when I left Germany the model for this new machine was very nearly ready to market."

Doctor Picht of Leipzig, has invented a machine known as The Picht Braille writer, which corresponds to our Hall writer, but differs in that when four Picht writers are placed in a certain position, four copies may be ticked off at once.

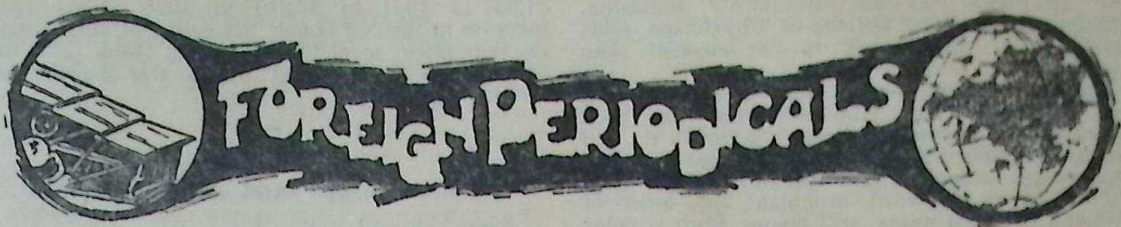
Dr. Strehl, an Academician, himself sightless, is at work at present on a remarkable Braille machine to be known as the Strehl Braille writer. By the completion of this invention, four copies can be taken off the machine by one stroke of the hand. Dr. Strehl is a native of Maguria, a small town outside Berlin. This machine is not yet ready for the market, but when it is ready, it will be of inestimable value to all workers of handcopy books.

Miss Lucille Goldthwaite, of the New York Library, is eagerly watching the advent of this machine.

The Leipzig Library for the blind is the largest Library of the kind in Germany, and the circulating centre for books not only for the German Blind, but for the sightless of Sweden and Holland as well. It contains more than 6,000 Braille books.



Lord Sinha



Will there be an Anglo-American War ?

An American Rear-Admiral, Charles C. Plunkett by name, has, it appears from *The Literary Digest*, created a commotion in diplomatic circles in New York and London by saying at a public luncheon in New York City.

"If I read history aright, we are nearer war to-day than ever before, because we are pursuing a competitive trade policy and crowding other nations into the background. A Policy of this kind inevitably leads to war. . . .

"So long as you dare to contest the control of the sea with your goods, you're going to have war, as sure as you are sitting in this room. So long as we are proceeding on the lines we are following to-day, war is absolutely inevitable. . . .

"I don't care whether it is with Great Britain, or some other nation, you are going to have war. . . .

"The meeting," says the *Herald Tribune* report, "adjourned at this point. Admiral Plunkett was asked later if he anticipated war with Great Britain. The answer was instant and unequivocal": "Yes, I mean Great Britain, or some other nation whose interests are affected. Great Britain may not herself at the outset declare war, but she will let some smaller nation do that, and then get behind her."

Naturally the Rear-Admiral was sat upon by all and sundry, President Coolidge downwards, for making such an unwelcome statement. Some think that the talk of War creates wars. They are perhaps right; but those who think that even in the presence of other good reasons for war, one can prevent war by nearly keeping silent over it, are nearly drugging themselves into a false hope. One American daily remarks.

"We of the United States are certainly in for commercial rivalry with Great Britain all along the line. That does make for problems, and there is no way of eliminating them. Lacking real arrangements for solving them as they arise by conciliation, some are bound to be serious. Add to that certainty a race in naval armaments, which begins with the idea of parity and proceeds through a series of differences of view as to what parity consists of, and the Admiral Plunketts have all the guaranty they need for the most alarmist predictions they choose in unguarded moments to make."

America and Great Britain may pull on well together for some time in their joint work of exploiting the world; but sooner or later one may expect a hitch, over division of the loot or over something else, and that may mean War.

Moderate Drinking Condemned

The International Student quotes from elsewhere the opinion of Dr. Courtenay C. Weeks, M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P. on the effects produced by alcohol on the human body when taken in small quantities. We read:

The medical profession has fully recognized that, in the strict sense of the term, alcoholic beverages are *never necessary for any healthy human life*, and not nearly so necessary as was formerly thought in the treatment of disease. Fifty years ago, when the London Temperance Hospital was opened, a medical journal could say: "*God help the patients!*" The prospect of treating patients mainly without alcohol seemed preposterous; yet, since then, nearly 50,000 patients have been treated in that hospital, and only 180 cases have been given any alcoholic beverage as part of treatment. In 1875, the Royal Victoria Infirmary, Newcastle-on-Tyne, spent no less than £2 9s. (on the average) upon wines and spirits for each patient under care. In 1925, notwithstanding that alcohol was four-and-a-half times as expensive, the cost per patient was, on the average, 5½d. Forty years ago, in the Western Infirmary, Glasgow, every patient, on the average, was given 104 teaspoonfuls of wine or spirits; last year the average per patient was *three*.

I have just received from the University Professor of Medicine at Stockholm these figures. In 1900, 3,934 patients in Stockholm Hospital were given 40,000 ounces of wine or spirits; in 1926, 5,334 patients were given 3,500 ounces—i. e., a reduction from 96 teaspoonfuls per patient to a fraction over four.

THE VERDICT OF SCIENCE

Why has this remarkable change in the medical world come about? Simply because the profession has realized, as a result of experience and experimental work, that alcohol is unable to build or repair or nourish the body; that whilst it may, to a very limited extent, act as a foodstuff in certain forms of extreme illness, its action as a narcotic, and its inhibitory action on all vital processes,

more than outweigh any advantages it may have in other directions. As Sir Humphrey Rolleston, President of the Royal College of Physicians, said: "His action is more likely to be harmful than beneficial."

The old idea that alcohol was a stimulant to heart and brain and vital activities has been "abandoned by rational medicine," although it still lingers in popular belief. Alcohol is essentially a narcotic, and as such is now recognized in all textbooks, although the word "stimulant," by force of habit and common usage, still creeps into popular language. As a narcotic, alcohol tends from first to last to numb, disorder, and paralyze the higher levels and centres of the brain—those levels which are the last to be developed, and through which the mind is able to express its power of intelligent judgment and self-critical discrimination and control.

Public health officials are unanimous that alcoholic indulgence in the national life, as a whole, is one of the most potent co-operating factors in the production of all sorts of damaged and deficient life. The more extreme forms of disease caused by long-continued abuse are obvious; but there is an increasing recognition that, far short of anything like so-called excess, alcoholic indulgence may be a powerful factor in precipitating serious disease. Thus the late Sir F. W. Mott said: "The amount of alcohol consumed by the pillars of society is sufficient to turn certain potential epileptics and feeble-minded persons into criminal and certifiable lunatics." That is to say, if there is a latent inborn tendency or possibility, then alcoholic indulgence, far short of so-called excess, can bring out, accelerate and intensify that possibility. In his recent lecture on cancer, Sir Berkely Moynihan (*British Medical Journal*, January 29, 1927), speaking of the way cancer attacks diseased organs, says: "The majority of people, it may be said, commit suicide. If we consider the effect of alcohol, syphilis, tubercle; of the conditions which, are set going by the rush for wealth—the statement, though shocking, appears to be true." Here, you see, this great expert places alcohol in the very foreground of his picture of the causes which predispose towards the 50,000 deaths from cancer every year.

Wealth of the United States

The *World To-morrow* gives the following:

Indications that the national wealth of the U. S. has reached the staggering total of slightly more than half a trillion dollars is given in the report of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The 117,000,000 persons in the country had a total income of nearly \$90,000,000,000 in 1926. This indicates an increase of approximately twenty-seven billions in the five years since 1921, or more than 43 per cent. The annual increase in the Nation's income since 1921, when a total of sixty-two billions was recorded, was shown to be \$3,000,000,000 for 1922, \$7,000,000,000 for 1925 and \$3,000,000,000 for 1926, when an exact total of \$89,682,000,000 was earned. The same increase holds true for the average per capita income of

persons gainfully employed, which has risen from \$1,637 in 1921 to \$2,210 in 1926. "This great increase in income is not the result of an increase in the price level," the bureau said, "for the actual price of consumed goods was slightly less in 1926 than 1921."

Mother Europe and Aunt America

Such should have been the title of an article in the *World To-morrow* showing up the ghastly nature of the "White Slave Traffic" from the findings of the League of Nations investigation into that evil. We give extracts from it below:

Though the United States remains outside the fabric of the League, America is taking an ever-increasing interest in its work. American representatives made notable contributions to the success of the World Economic Conference last May which Russia, too, attended. An American citizen has just given two million dollars to the library of the League. America has long made generous grants to the Health Bureau. It is due to the initiative of an American woman that the investigations of the League into the traffic in women were begun. The sum of 175,000 voted by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene made possible their extensive inquiries.

The report of this inquiry, adopted by the Assembly last fall, proves beyond doubt that the abominable traffic in women, known 30 years ago as the "white slave traffic," is still operating in all its old vigor. Submerged by the war, the "souteneur" has reappeared. He has not changed in the years between. Only his methods have been adapted to meet new conditions.

There are regular "trade routes" along which this muddy stream of traffic passes. The chief "market" is, without doubt, South America, a new country of vast undeveloped possibilities, rich already, and containing a surplus of men who have flocked in as pioneers and adventurers to make their fortunes. The chief hunting ground of the "souteneur" is in Central Europe, impoverished and scarred by war. Hungary and Poland especially have paid a terrible toll in womanhood since 1919. There is a beaten track of human misery and degradation from the heart of Europe to South America.

Some of his victims are already versed in vice, and are not unwilling to accompany him to more lucrative employment. Often they are defrauded by him or by the "madame" to whom he hands them over. Others are merely foolish girls who are "stage-struck" or want to dance in cabarets. They are engaged to dance in foreign cities where they quickly learn what else is expected of them. How many are forced by circumstances into complaisance is proved by the ordinance of the authorities at Salonika, which draws no distinction whatever between cabaret dancers and common prostitutes. Both are submitted to the same regulations.

Even more unfortunate, for their awakening is more cruel, are the girls the "souteneur" has lured from home with a promise of marriage.

Sometimes indeed, there is a marriage, for the "souteneur" does not hesitate to add bigamy to his other crimes if it simplifies matters for him. Occasionally it does, for the legislation of some countries to control this traffic does not extend to the married woman. Travel and immigration are thus facilitated. When he has reached his "market" he hands over his captive for a good price which may range from \$3000 to \$3,000.

Henceforth the woman is in the toils. She is encouraged to run into debt and she is paid so little that debt is difficult to avoid. Then the control of the "madame" can be tightened, and she can be compelled, to put it brutally, to work longer hours. She can be more easily led to practise unnatural vices because they yield higher profits.

Not the least terrible feature of this trade in immorality is the youthful age of the majority of its victims. Youth is at a premium. Young girls are wanted because they have longer to live.

Incontrovertible evidence proves that in one country, at least, mothers have sold their own children into this slavery.

How Should We Teach History

Should truth be sacrificed in history books for the sake of propaganda or patriotism (?) is a question now agitating the American mind. We have a direct interest in the question as we are probably the most maligned nation in our own history books—maligned by interested imperialist propaganda. Some in this country think that lies should be answered by greater lies *i.e.*, if British historians have painted us black we should answer by painting ourselves in the colours of the aurora and dab the British with the murkiest shades. For such opinion-holders the following extract from an article by Lyon G. Tyler Ph.D., editor, Tyler's Quarterly Historical Magazine, contributed to the *Current History* will provide interesting reading.

★ Truth is the fundamental test of history and there is no such thing as American truth, British truth, French truth or German truth—there is only one eternal almighty truth for all. Two things only are to be considered by a just historian—statement of real facts, no matter what side they may favor, and impartial deductions from those facts according to their relative importance. An American history necessarily, of course, turns upon matters relating strictly to America. To lug in the history of other countries, except in an explanatory way, is a departure from the true philosophy of the work. The facts given should always afford a perspective and be full enough to justify the conclusion. In a real history indiscriminate eulogy, prejudicial statements and unwarranted conclusions have no place. While there is plenty of evidence that our forefathers were not as faultless as the old historians

were in the habit of representing them, I hold that there is enough real heroism in American history and in American biography to afford all the inspiration necessary to patriotic citizens without the necessity of ascribing godlike attributes to the heroes or obscuring the real case by misrepresenting facts in favor of the Americans or using abusive language of the enemy or opposition.

Women Bolsheviks of England

What is the attitude of the average English women towards Bolshevism? Who are the women Bolsheviks in England? Why are they Bolsheviks? Such questions are answered by Edith Sellers in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. We are told:

In England very few women are born Bolsheviks. What women Bolsheviks we have among us have, for the most part, been manufactured. By nature, indeed, the great majority of working-class Englishwomen are staunchly anti-Bolshevist—at any rate, when once their young days are past. Of that proof may be had, even in Hyde Park, any Sunday evening by watching the faces of the women who stand around the platform on which some Red orator holds forth, and listening to the comments they make. It is, as a rule, only the young among them who show any very keen interest in what is being said: while as for the older women, some seem indignant, others amused, others again—and they are the majority—bored or worried, especially if their husbands are with them and take to applauding. Bolshevik orators preach Communism, we must not forget, and the average working-class Englishwoman has no sympathy at all with anything that even smacks of Communism. So long as she has a roof over her head, a bed to sleep in, a few kettle and pans, even a hint that she might be called upon to share her possessions with her thriftless, possessionless neighbors would at once set her ablaze with wrathful indignation. If she is one of the lucky few and has a cottage of her own, or a few pounds in the War Loan or some savings bank, she would fight to the death rather than let what she has be thrown into any common stock, in which she would have to go share and share alike with all comers.

Moreover, if she has a husband and children, she is fairly sure to be dead, not only against Communism, but also against the whole Bolshevik system: of its moral, or immoral, code she has a perfect horror. If she is of a religious frame of mind, indeed, she dubs it 'devilish.' For, let the Soviet's agents argue as they will, she is firmly convinced that, under Bolshevik rule, were it in force here, the State would be able to take possession of her children and do with them what it would: while as for her husband, he would be free to turn her adrift any day, and install in her place some slip of a girl. Why, even to think of such a state of things is enough, she declares, to drive any decent woman 'stark mad.' And she, the average working-class woman, whether she has a husband and children or not, is an eminently

decent woman, it must be remembered, kindly and law-abiding by instinct, sound to the core. There is not much danger, therefore, that she will ever become either a Communist or a Bolshevik, unless, indeed, something should happen that 'fairly upsets' her, makes her feel that she, or those near to her, are being unjustly treated, degraded, deprived of what is due to them.

But those that are Bolsheviks are so for queer reasons. For, says the author:

Among the women Bolsheviks whom I have known, two embraced the Ishmaelite creed because, in spite of all their efforts to escape, they were compelled to pay supertax; a third, a small farmer because during the war some government official prevented her from doing what she wished to do with her own bit of land; and a fourth, a sturdy young female, because a conscientious panel doctor refused to certify her as a consumptive!

Those are, of course, exceptional cases. Still the great majority of Englishwomen who are Bolsheviks are Bolsheviks for no reason that has anything to do either with principles or theories, but simply because they have been 'fairly upset'; they have suffered what they regard as wrong, or have seen their children suffer wrong. So it is, at any rate, with the older women. Some of them have been robbed of their savings and forced to betake themselves to the 'House,' or have had to wander about without shelter because children are looked on askance by landlords; or, worst of all, perhaps, because, while facing the grim wolf at close quarters, they have come across a dog being overfed. Even the young who join the 'Reds' join, as a rule, because they have been 'upset.' They have had to scrub floors, perhaps, when they would fain have been dancing, to wear cotton gowns when they longed to wear silk. For the latter-day young have a great love of pleasure, of finery too, and it cuts them to the quick to see others going off to balls in smart clothes. Little wonder, therefore, that the Bolshevik creed attracts them; or that they listen eagerly to those who tell them that, when Bolshevism is the order of the day here, it is they who will wear smart clothes and go to balls, while those who wear them now will be in cottons and scrub floors.

Trotsky Exiled to Turkestan

The *Literary Digest* tells us:

Trotsky, who with the late Lenin, founded Bolshevism, and was for years one of the stalwarts of the Soviet, has been exiled to the snowy steppes of Russian Turkestan, described in some journals as "one of the loneliest and dreariest spots in the world." As seen at a glance by the London *Daily Mail* he was deported because he dared to form an opposition to the Bolshevik Government, now controlled by Stalin. At the same time other Bolshevik former Commissars, who joined him in the Opposition—among them Zinoviev, Radek, Rakovsky, Kamenev, Smilga, and Smirnow—were also sent to "separate and equally inaccessible and desolate stations." In a Paris dispatch to the London *Daily Express*, from H.J. Greenwall, its correspondent in the French capital, we read:

"The disappearance from the Russian stage of Leon Trotsky, Karl Radek, and their minor colleagues is the most astounding event that has occurred in Russia since the day the revolutionists streamed across the Neva bridges and bombarded the Winter Palace: but the real meaning of Trotsky's passing has not yet been realized. It is nothing less than a turning-point in Russia's policy. It means the definite abandonment of world revolution as the main plank in Soviet policy.

"Who were the leaders of the Russian revolution? Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin lies buried in a curious underground tomb in the Red Square, Moscow. He died at the right moment, for altho the peasants venerated Lenin as a saint, yet had he been alive today he would have shared Trotsky's exile. Of that there is no doubt whatever. About twenty yards behind Lenin's tomb is the wall of the Kremlin, that city within a city, where the Soviet leaders live. Trotsky lived in the Kremlin, and until last year was the head of the extremely important concessions commission.

"Every foreign concession had to pass through Trotsky's hands. That was his power. Then came the split within the Communist party, and Trotsky had to leave the Kremlin and seek a private residence. Stalin, the new dictator of Russia, is a fair man. He gave the active revolutionists the right to reply to the allegations which were made against them; that their policy had failed, and instead of building up a new Russia it was dragging the country down and down. With the failure of the Soviet attempts to make China 'Red' came the final and utter collapse of the old regime. Then it was only a matter of weeks before it was decided to send the world revolutionaries into exile.

"The dismissal of Karl Radek is only second in importance to the passing of Trotsky. Radek, whom I first saw in a Berlin prison cell in January, 1919, was the head of the world-wide Soviet revolutionary propaganda. Radek was the head of the remarkable Chinese University in Moscow. This university as recently as last August was filled with young male and female Chinese, who were being trained as revolutionaries to be sent back to China and other places in the East to prepare their countrymen for a revolution.....

"What of the man who now rules Russia? Joseph Stalin has had a long-standing grudge against Leon Trotsky. It dates back to the time when Trotsky was in the field against the White Russian, General Denikin. Stalin went to call on Trotsky, but the sentry outside Trotsky's quarters refused to allow Stalin to pass. Stalin—who believes in direct action—rushed the sentry, and burst in on Trotsky when he was in conference. Trotsky rebuked Stalin, had the sentry arrested, the troops paraded, and the sentry sentenced to death. Trotsky then pardoned the sentry publicly, and gave the reasons which led to his arrest.

"Stalin never forgave Trotsky for what he considered an insult, and his policy gradually evolved until it became quite definitely anti-revolutionary. Stalin, however, is not pro-British. Rather the reverse, and, like the majority of the men with whom he has surrounded himself, he is '100 per cent. Russian.'

"I am convinced that the world revolutionary

movement has been dropt. Instead of Great Britain and the Continental countries being riddled with Soviet agitators trying to cause strikes, we shall find many Soviet spies, just as we found many German spies before the Great War. I believe, too, that the next great Russian sensation will be the break between the Red International and the Soviet Government. This, of course, is a matter of time, but I do not think it is a possibility which should be ruled out when dealing with Russian affairs. After all, six months ago who would have believed that Leon Trotzky, Kark Radek, and the others would be sent into exile by Joseph Stalin, a man whom nobody outside Russia even knew?"

Japan Weekly Chronicle on Simon Commission

The *Japan Weekly Chronicle* comments at length on the Indian situation as complicated by the Simon Commission. We quote from that paper below without comment:

The Simon commission has been by way of an anticipation of the original programme, and should in theory, be received with acclamation and tears of gratitude. But that has not been its fate. Offence was given in the first place by making it British instead of a mixture of Englishmen and Indians; but quite apart from that the whole idea seems to be unwelcome. It is not impossible to suppose that some of the most active agitators were the least certain that the evidence would show that the reforms had not been very admirably used, but that they were genuinely concerned about their faults of omission is not to be supposed for a moment. It is certain that a commission of this sort will see what it is predisposed to see. The political dictum has been laid down that no nation is good enough to govern another nation. But if one went looking for shortcomings it would soon be established beyond any doubt that no nation is capable of governing even itself decently. It is easy enough to point out to Indians that their rule will be neither just nor competent; but they would retort by pointing out that Britain's government of her own people is so imperfect that not very long ago the whole country was paralysed by a strike which members of the Government described as revolutionary and treated as a military problem. How, then, they would say, can Britain pretend to govern India when that is the best she can do with her own country.

The *Japan Weekly Chronicle* assumes that the boycott of the Commission was carried out with a view to convince the Simon Seven by violence; because reason is a bad convincer. We are told:

Perhaps it is not very flattering to Sir John Simon to suppose that he will be more impressed by assaults, boycotts, rioting, and the closing of shops than by reason, but, as they would point out, even so eloquent and distinguished a lawyer as Lord Birkenhead fell back on all kinds of

violence when argument failed, so why should not they? The question whether in the abstract, the claim of the objectors to the Commission is justified, is hardly pertinent. Whether they would make a good show at government is doubtful. That they would try and give justice to the depressed classes and a fair share of everything to the Musalmans, is worse than doubtful; but the fact seems to be that, however little they may represent India as a whole, that great entity is not sufficiently interested in the dispute to sweep away their pretences on a wave of popular indignation, but, so far as it comes into play at all, supports them. It is also true that as with Ireland, the longer claims are withheld and more grudgingly they are granted, the further they advance and the greater they become. The Commission has made such a bad start that it would be best to abandon it. If the opinions of the Government's own officials cannot be acted upon, then the case for serious defects in the administration is established. On the part of the British official hierarchy in India the principal factor in making them profoundly reluctant to put unlimited power into the hands of the group demanding it is a genuine fear that it would result in extensive injustice to large numbers of people; but in the end that evil will have to be left for the people themselves to set right. It may cause something like chaos, but there seems to be no belief even in the most conservative that to hold on to the present system and suppress hostile action will ever result in a permanent condition of happiness, progress, and content.

—

Suppose Germany Ruled England

Rev. J. T. Sunderland quotes in *Unity* from H. W. Nevinson in order to bring home to his readers the absurdity of the foreign domination of India. We read:

Some years ago, Mr. H. W. Nevinson contributed an article to the *North American Review* entitled "Under the Yoke," in which he imagines England to have been conquered by Germany (as India by England) and then draws a picture of Germany ruling England (exactly as England rules India). He does not mention India, but everyone who knows India can see what he has in mind. Here is Mr. Nevinson's picture:—

England would be divided into four sections under German governor-generals and there would be German governor-generals in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Germans would be appointed as district commissioners to collect revenue, try cases and control the police. A Council of Germans, with a proportion of nominated British lords and squires, would legislate for each province.

A German viceroy, surrounded by a council in which the majority was always German and the chief offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Commander-in-Chief of the army, and so forth, were always filled by Germans, would hold a Court at Windsor and Buckingham Palace. The English would have to undertake the support of Lutheran churches for the spiritual consolation of their rulers. London and the other cities would be

given German Lord Mayors. German would be the official language of the country, though interpreters might be allowed in the law courts. Public examinations would be conducted in German, and all candidates for the highest civilian posts would have to go to Germany to be educated.

The leading newspapers would be published in German and a strict censorship established over the *Times* and other rebellious organs. Criticism of the German Government would be prosecuted as sedition. English papers would be confiscated, English editors heavily fined or imprisoned, English speakers deported to the Orkneys without trial or cause shown. Writers on liberty, such as Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, Burke, Mill and Lord Morley, would be forbidden. The works of even German authors like Schiller, Heine and Karl Marx would be prohibited.

On the railways English gentlemen and ladies would be expected to travel second or third class, or if they traveled first they would be exposed to German insolence and would probably be turned out by some German official. Public buildings would be erected in the German style. English manufactures and all industries would be hampered by an elaborate system of excise which would flood the English markets with German goods. Such art as England possesses would disappear.

Arms would be prohibited. The common people, especially in Scotland and northwest provinces, would be encouraged to recruit in the native army under the command of German officers; no British officer would be allowed to rise above the rank of lieutenant—all commissions being reserved for Germans. The Boy Scouts would be declared seditious associations. If a party of German officers went fox-shooting in Leicestershire and the villagers resisted the slaughter of the sacred animal, some of the leading villagers would be hanged and others flogged during the execution. The national anthem would begin: "God save our German king! Long live our foreign king!" The singing of "Rule Britannia," would be regarded as a seditious act.

The Germans would abolish Eton, Harrow and other public schools, together with the college buildings of Oxford and Cambridge, converting them into barracks, while the students would find their own lodgings in the towns and all stand on far greater equality in regard to wealth.

German is not a very beautiful language, but it has a literature, and the English people would have the advantage of being compelled to speak and write German in all their dealings with the Government, and they would learn something of German literature and history. They would also learn to eat black bread, which is more wholesome than white. All the English would, of course, be compelled to contribute heavily to the defense of the German Empire, and would pay the expenses of the large German garrisons quartered in their midst and of the German cruisers that patrolled their shores.

Will White Australia Last?

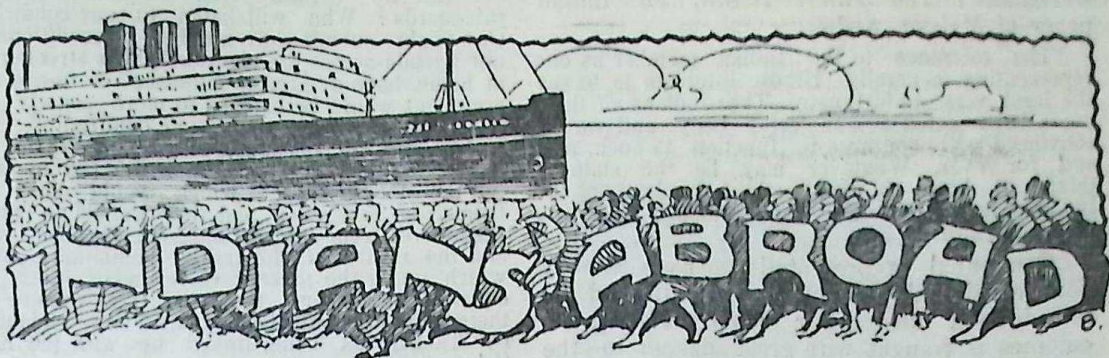
We read in *The Young East*:

In a speech recently delivered at Perth, Western Australia, before a large and representative assembly of legislators and businessmen, Mr. C. S. Nathan, of the Commonwealth Development and Migration Commission, is quoted to have asked two pertinent questions. These were:

"Can we say we shall be satisfied if Australia in 23 years' time has a population of 10,000,000? Could we hold Australia in such circumstances in face of the requirements of neighbouring nations?"

Australia is now inhabited by just over 6,400,000 people. According to a simple process of arithmetic, based on the present rate of increase, it will take until 1950 before the population of Australia reaches a paltry 10,000,000. We are told that in Western Australia alone there are yet at least 12,000,000 idle acres within the 10-inch rainfall, a good deal of it enjoying 11 and 12 inches annually, all capable of being settled and producing wheat.

In face of these facts, we are tempted to ask: "How long will Australia continue to adhere to its white Australia policy?" There is no denying that Australia's slow development in spite of its vast area and rich natural resources is primarily due to this policy, which closes its doors rigidly against all but white immigrants. That this policy is desirable from the Australian point of view is not disputed, for it has kept the country racially pure and maintained the standard of living high. But will it be able to keep it up for long? While Australia is slowly plodding its way towards economic prosperity, all because it lacks manpower to develop its resources, all the nations surrounding it are advancing by leaps and bounds on the high road of industry. Especially noteworthy is the economic progress which is being made in recent years by South American nations. Free from racial prejudice, they receive with open arms immigrants from all quarters of the globe and thanks to the labour and capital they bring with them they are rapidly surging forward as great industrial countries. It does not require much power of foresight to predict that in the course of a quarter of a century, such countries as Brazil, Argentine, Chile and Peru will closely follow the United States of North America in wealth and prosperity. Meanwhile India, China and Japan will also grow up as equals of industrial nations of the West. Supposing Australia refuses to part with its white Australia policy, what will be the position it will find itself in then? The answer is obvious. Hopelessly beaten in the economic struggle, its position will be that of a minor nation. It appears to us that if only to keep pace with the progress of its neighbours, Australia will be compelled sooner or later to abandon its white Australia policy.



BY BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

The Poet on Colour Prejudice among Colonial Indians

The following letter, that has been sent to the Press by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, will be read with considerable interest by our readers. The Poet has given a timely warning to our *Chhota* Imperialists, who consider themselves superior to the Natives and think it below their dignity to associate with them.

"I have read the letter of Mr. Habib Motan dated November 19, 1927, addressed to the Agent-General, protesting against any Indian being invited to attend Fort Hare Native College, for University Education. In this published letter, he states, that "it is humiliating to the Indian sentiment, and to the Indian National Honour and Civilisation, to think that our Agent-General is trying to bring us down to such a low level." Such colour prejudice, from an Indian, who has himself suffered from the racial prejudice of the European, is to me revolting in the extreme. It is neither in accord with Indian sentiment, or with Indian National Honour and Civilisation. Our only right to be in South Africa at all is that the native Africans, to whom the soil belongs, wish us to be there. To insult them publicly as Mr. Habib Motan has done, in this open letter,—both by the words I have quoted, and by others equally contemptuous,—is an act which needs immediate repudiation from all right-minded men."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

'Hindu' or 'Indian'?

We congratulate Hon'ble Mr. S. Veerasamy of Kuala Lumpur F. M. S. on his appoint-

ment as a member of the Federal Council. There is, however, one thing in this connection, which we have not been able to appreciate at all. His Excellency the Governor of F. M. S. made the following speech in the Council on this subject :—

His Excellency :—"Honourable Members, before proceeding with the ordinary work I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Veerasamy on the distinction, which is his, of becoming the first representative of the Indian community on the Federal Council. There is just one word which I should like to say on the subject of this appointment. We have on this Council various representatives of the different communities in Malaya—communities which are entirely Mohammedan, communities which are mainly Christian and so on, and as regards Indians in Malaya you might say that the preponderant majority of these are Hindus. There are, of course, many Christians and some Mohammedans no doubt as members of that community. When the question of appointing a member especially to represent the Indian community arose, and when I was in correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject recently, I pointed out to him that we had in 1921 in the Federated Malay States 305,219 Indians and 9821 Ceylonese and according to the latest estimates there are 440,000 Indians and 12,300 Ceylonese. In spite of that it is recognised by Government that the 12,300 Ceylonese are also preponderantly Hindus and are of Indian origin, and I wish to state that Government reserves to itself the right at any future time when a vacancy occurs, which we hope will not occur for some years, to select any member of the Hindu community whether born in the F. M. S. or not to represent the community, the majority of which subscribes to the Hindu faith. Though the community which is represented now by Mr. Veerasamy is called the Indian community, we regard it as including Ceylonese, and him as especially representing Hindu interests on this Council."

Now why should the Government of Federated Malaya States make a distinction between Hindus and Mohammedans or

Christians? *The Tamil Nesan*, an Indian paper of Malaya, writes:—

"The reference to the Indian member as one representing generally Hindu interests is, to say the least, very unfortunate. The Indians all these years have acted as one solid body and we are convinced will continue to function as such, now and for ever. Whatever may be the state of things at home in India the members of the Indian Community shall ever zealously adhere to this noble ideal."

Communal representation has already done considerable mischief in India and its introduction among our compatriots in the colonies is fraught with great danger to the unity that exists among them. Will the Indian Government protest against this invidious distinction?

Tanganyika Indians and East African Federation

Messrs. S. N. Ghosh and M. P. Chitale voiced the feelings of the Indians against East African Federation in their admirable speeches in the Tanganyika Legislative Council. Hon'ble Mr. Ghosh said:—

If Federation is such a good thing, why do not the other three countries want to come in? Rhodesia with its White predominance does not want to come in. Nyasaland does not see eye to eye with us. And who in Tanganyika wants Federation? Only the Europeans. The total number of Europeans here is 4,580, and the majority of these are Government officials. There are not more than 1500 non-official European subjects. The Natives are an inarticulate mass now. Who is going to represent them? The Kenya Memorandum talks of three Europeans to represent them. The Indians in Tanganyika have increased since 1921 from 9,000 to 18,000, and no one can deny that they are playing a useful part in this country. (Hear hear). They are doing work which Europeans will never be able to do. These 18,000 with one voice do not want Federation. The Indians do not think that it will in any way be of any use to them at this stage.

The position in Kenya is different from that here. Kenya wants a European Unofficial Majority before Federation is established. But they will bring their policy to Tanganyika, for they will be on the Federal Council. There is a policy of racial differentiation in Kenya. How could one keep such a policy separate and inviolate? If there was a majority of people in the Federal Council whose angle of vision was different, how could one obviate their policy becoming a policy of the Federated States? Kenya would be bound to come down into Tanganyika, on account of the latter's greater prosperity, and that is why the Indian community will fight Federation tooth and nail, even if it becomes an accomplished fact. Every-thing is liable to change."

Here are two extracts from Hon'ble Mr. Chitale's speech:—

"Are we certain that we shall have our safeguards? Who will listen to our conditions? One might submit any number of conditions, but our friends across the border have a stronger pull at home, have a greater influence there and their argument would be listened to more eagerly than our prayer, for safeguarding our own right."

"He and his colleague, being communally and racially different from the rest of the members, felt the greater danger which would come over them from Federation, and they wanted to protect themselves from any infringement of their rights, and the rights of the Indian community, under which, under the present Government, they have equal treatment, and they did not require that their position should be in any way endangered by Tanganyika being linked up with the Kenya Colony."

Will Messrs. Ghosh and Chitale prepare a short pamphlet on Tanganyika giving detailed information about prospects for Indian trade and settlement there?

The Danger in South Africa

I interviewed Mr. C. E. Andrews about the alarming news from South Africa that 'the Colour Bar Act is likely to be applied to Natal.' This is what he said:—

"I had always feared most of all the blunder made at the time of signing the Capetown Agreement by not obtaining in the settlement itself a clear assurance about the Colour Bar Act and its application to Natal. This was really culpable negligence and it may have disastrous effects. The Colour Bar Act makes it impossible for those not specified under the Act to handle machinery whenever that machinery has been notified under the Act. Up to the present the Colour Bar Act has not affected Indians as skilled workmen because it was only applied to the mines and there were no skilled Indian workmen in that mechanical occupation but the whole sugar refining industry in Natal is carried on by means of skilled Indian workmen. If the Colour Bar Act is applied to the sugar refining machinery all of those Indians will be thrown out of work. At the time of the Round Table Conference I pressed with all my might for a definite protest to be made instead of leaving the matter unnoticed. I feel that we still have a strong position under the Agreement to protest against its extension because the first clause under the head of Upliftment declares that it is the duty of the Union Government to foster each permanent section of the population "to the utmost of its capacity and opportunity." It may rightly be argued that restriction from such an occupation as the sugar industry means the very opposite of fostering Indian capacity. This is the line which I have advised Indians in South Africa to take. But our position would have been far stronger if we had definitely referred to it in the Agreement itself and had protested against it."

Indians in Southern Rhodesia

The following facts and figures are taken from the Report of the Director of Census,

Southern Rhodesia, regarding the Census taken on 4th May, 1926.

The numbers of Indians in Southern Rhodesia at the censuses taken since 1904 :—

1904	703
1907	807
1911	701
1921	858
1926	929

The Indians shown for the years 1921 and 1926 were those born in India. If we add those of Indian parentage born in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the figures are increased to 1154 in 1921 and 1,341 in 1926.

The total number of Asiatics including these Indians is only 1454, thus the Indians make up more than 92 percent of the Asiatic population. In the Asiatic population there were 117 males born in five years from 1921 to 1925 and 22 of these died before attaining one year which means a male infantile death-rate of 188 per thousand. This is excessively high when compared with the mean for European infants, which was only 75.31 for the same period. But the female infantile death-rate was only 2.84 per thousand per annum. On this point the Director makes the following significant observation :—

"Influences which must have considerable effect in producing the very low female death-rate are the common practice amongst the Indian men of sending their wives home to India at frequent intervals and the fact that it is only of recent years that they have brought their women-folk to this colony in any numbers, being content for the most part formerly to visit India themselves periodically."

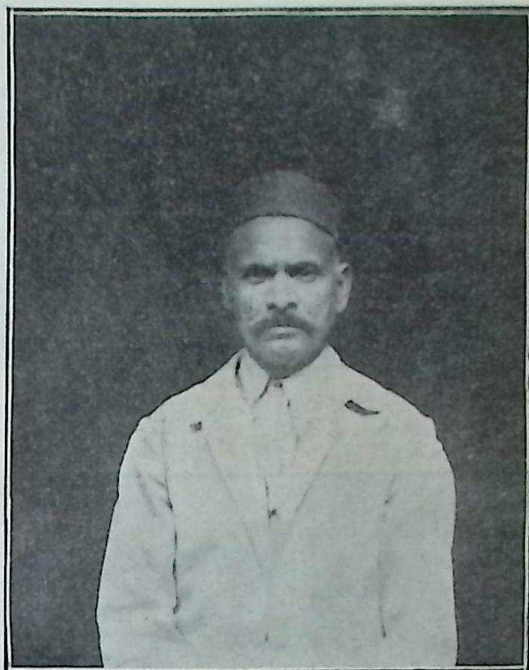
It is to be noted that the females represent only 23.5 per cent of the whole and there are 3.25 males to each of the opposite sex.

For colonisation, in the real sense of the word, it is necessary for our countrymen abroad to take their families with them. They ought to settle in the colonies instead of living there as occasional visitors.

An Aryasamajist Preacher to Fiji Islands :—

Shriyut Mehta Jaimini, B.A., LL.B., sailed for Fiji by S. S. the Sutlej on March 17th. Mehta Jaimini has already visited Mauritius, Anam, Siam, Singapore, F. M. S., Sumatra and Java and his lectures produced a great impression upon our countrymen in those places.

Mehta Jaimini was born in Montgomery District of the Punjab. He passed the vernacular middle examination from his village school. As his means could not permit him to study English he had to become a teacher in a village school on Rs. 15 p.m.



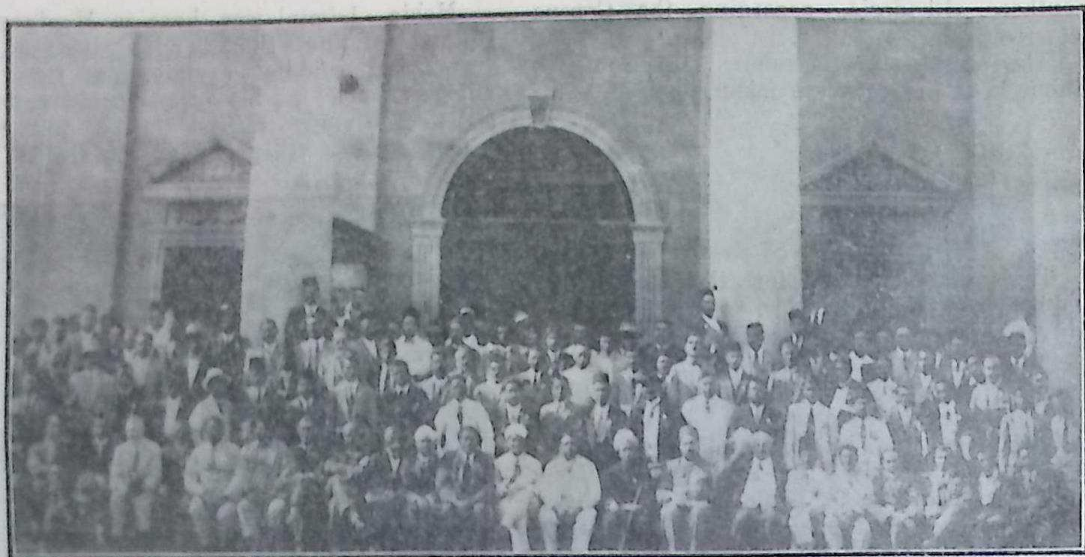
Mehta Jaimini

By studying privately he passed the matriculation and intermediate examinations and got his degree in 1896. He passed the LL.B. examination in 1899. He is thus a self-made man. For more than twenty years he practised as a lawyer and gave up his practice in 1921 and since that time he has assumed the role of a Vedic preacher.

May we hope that he will exert his influence to bring about unity among our people in Fiji ?

Indian Vernaculars in South Africa

Swami Bhwani Dayal Sanyasi deserves our hearty congratulations for putting up a good fight for Indian Vernaculars at the Kimberley Congress in South Africa. He has kindly sent me an account of this discussion, telling me how Mr. Sastri made the mistake of opposing the introduction of



Indians at the Kimberley Congress



Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri with his
official secretary Mr. Tyson and private
secretary Mr. Kodand Rao

Indian Vernaculars, how the Congress first accepted the views of Mr. Sastri and how after a strong protest from Bhawani Dayalji it ultimately passed a resolution in favour of the introduction of Vernaculars. As I have unfortunately missed that speech of Mr. Sastri, I do not know on what grounds he opposed the inclusion of the Vernaculars.

Bhawani Dayalji writes in his letter :—

"Vernacular education can be included in the curriculum of the Government and Government Aided Indian schools of Natal and also with great



Swami Bhawani Dayal

appointed an Educational Commission to go into the pros and cons of Indian education in Natal. The Indian Government also was kind enough to send two educational experts in the persons of Mr. Kailas Prasad Kitchlew and Miss Gordon. It is the duty of the Indian Community and the Congress (vide resolution Kimberley Conference) to put up a strong fight before the Commission for the inclusion of vernacular education in the Indian schools of Natal."

We must strongly support Swami Bhawani Dayal in his fight for the recognition of Indian Vernaculars. It is noteworthy that Mr. Sastri has now bowed to the sentiments of the Indian public in South Africa and we are confident that he will do everything to help the cause of Indian Vernaculars.

The Natal Provincial Government has already

Sacrifice

Which cleaves the cowering shadows like
a blade

And makes them bleed into a sudden splendour.

An eyelike flame which searches in black
corners

And with its lone immaculate lustre burns
The dusty intertangled cobwebs spun

By the dim-hearted spider, Ignorance,
Around itself in solitudes of death.

Truth is the great white peacock of the soul
Which opens placid plumes across the

To dance its flaming and eternal dance

While the stark-staring thunder-throated clouds

Shoot lightning-pointed shafts of arrowy
Showers.

Truth is the voice which sang the universe
Into a rounded visibility

Of monster-mountains and tremendous
spheres.

Wide-wandering and immeasurable waters,
And miracles of delicatest life !

Each time a truth is uttered on the earth
In some sky-corner a new star is born ;
And in some barren home a shining babe ;
And in the corner of a murderer's eye
A cleansing teardrop ; in the tiger's heart
Clean pity for the lamb . . Utter a truth
And lo ! the Lord receives His daily bread.
Friends of my kingdom ! let us pray to
Him

To fill us with the courage of true thought,
To tinge our lips with colour of true
speech.

That we might truth-empadise the dark,
The cowardly and hollow dark of lies.

And let us also pray that every tree
And every stone and every blade of grass

And every stone and every blade of grass
Within our kingdom live and utter truth
Though we might never know nor under-
stand.

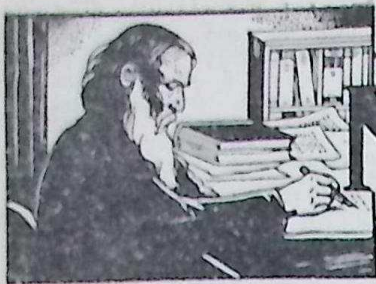
And in the sky which overcanopies
Our kingdom may the clouds beat time to
truth

And may the stars and may the sun and moon

And every wind between the dawn and eve
Be truth's angelic and immortal breath.

—From the drama, "Harischandra's Proclamation" by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

* * * * *



NOTES

✓ How India's Indigenous Sugar Industry was Ruined

In *The Commercial Products of India* Sir George Watt writes :—

"An import duty on Indian sugar, which was practically prohibitive, was imposed by Great Britain. It came to 8s. a cwt. more than was taken on Colonial sugar." (p. 958.)

The italics are Sir George Watt's.

He concludes the section devoted to "Exports to Foreign Countries" with the following paragraph, which has the side heading "Severe Blow":—

"Thus there can be no doubt that a severe blow has been dealt to the Indian sugar industry, which, but for its own immense resources and recuperative power, might have been calamitous. Had England continued to purchase Indian raw sugar, there is little doubt an immense expansion of the area of production, and an enhancement of the yield, would have been the natural consequence. All this is now changed, and sugar represents 53.3 per cent. of the total value of the articles of food and drink imported, and is the second largest single article of importation, the first being cotton piece goods. Thus the two chief items of India's early export trade have become her greatest modern imports."

Sir George Watt's work, from which the above extracts are taken, was published in 1908 "under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council," and is, therefore, not a seditious book written by a pestilential agitator.

✓ How India's Indigenous Paper Industry was Ruined

In the same work Sir George Watt gives a brief history of the manufacture and use of paper in different countries of Asia, including India. Coming to the days of the rule of the East India Company, he writes :

"One of the earliest detailed accounts of the Native methods of paper-making in India is perhaps that given by Buchanan-Hamilton (*Stat.*

Acc. Dinaj., 272-3), the material used being jute. Prior to 1840 India obtained a large share of its paper supplies from China. About that date interest was aroused in the subject, and both Hindu and Muhammadan factories for hand-made papers were established all over the country. During Sir Charles Wood's tenure of the office of Secretary of State for India, an order was issued for the purchase of all the supplies required by the Government of India in Great Britain, and this threw back very seriously the growing Indian production." (P. 866.)

The italics are ours.

Sir Charles Wood was the grandfather of Lord Irwin, the present Governor-General of India, and is generally known for his Education Despatch. But he should be remembered also for the order which contributed largely towards the decay of the indigenous paper industry of India.

✓ The Indigenous Iron Industries of India

In Sir George Watt's *Commercial Products of India*, page 692, it is stated :

There would seem to be "no doubt that the existing manufacture of wrought iron by a direct process was widespread in the country before the date of the most ancient historic records, while the manufacture of the ancient *wootz* anticipated by many centuries the cementation process, developed in Europe, for the manufacture of the finest qualities of steel." "The Native iron-smelting industry has been practically stamped out by cheap imported iron and steel within range of the railways, but it still persists in the more remote parts of the Peninsula and in some parts of the Central Provinces has shown signs of slight improvement." (*Imp. Gaz.*, 1907, iii., 145.) According to Mr. Syed Ali Belgrami, the Nizam's Dominions furnished the material from which the famous Damascus blades of the Middle Ages were made. To this day Hyderabad is noted for its swords and daggers.

It does not appear that the British Government in India ever did anything to prevent "the Native iron-smelting industry" from being "practically stamped out." But some

glimpses of how the process of stamping out was accelerated are to be found in Valentine Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 224-5, where he writes :—

November 16th [1869]. Deocha—

In this village there are some native iron furnaces, the sole surviving remains of an industry now well-nigh extinct in this part of the country owing to the restrictions placed upon it by the Birbhum Company, which bought up the sole right to manufacture, and owing also to the royalty subsequently inflicted by the native landlords.

The Birbhum Company, referred to above, was a British Company. The British Government ought not to have sold the sole right to manufacture iron and steel to this company, nor allowed "the native landlords" to inflict a prohibitive royalty. Who, if any interested persons, instigated them to do so, is not stated.

Valentine Ball adds :—

To the best of my belief these furnaces are, for their size and the magnitude of their results, by far the largest and most important in the whole of India. Each furnace could make about 15 cwt. of iron per week; and the total estimated outturn in 1852 from 70 of these furnaces was put down at 1700 tons by Dr. Oldham. The *lohars* or iron-makers here were Hindoos; but farther to the north, in the vicinity of the Ramguri Hills, there is another race of iron-makers, who use the ordinary small furnaces, and are called *Cols*. It is probable that they are identical with the *Aguriah*s of Hazaribagh and Palamow, whom I shall describe on a future page.

Feasibility of Industrial Revival

Though most of the principal indigenous industries of India have decayed or been destroyed during the British period of Indian history, it would do no good to any body merely to dwell mournfully on their total or partial disappearance. That there were such industries at one time shows that the raw materials necessary for them exist in India and that Indians had the knowledge and the capacity to manufacture them into finished products. It behoves us, therefore, to revive our industries according to the most up-to-date methods and with the help of the latest machinery. That it is possible to do so is proved by the cotton industry of India. In spite of handicaps, our countrymen of Bombay have shown great enterprise in this branch of industry. Similar other industries should be started in other parts of the country. Where, as in Bengal, a local modern

industry, like jute, has been almost monopolised by foreigners, Indians should make strenuous efforts to capture it. Already there are some jute mills in Bengal owned by Indians.

The Tomb of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy

We have received the following appeal from the Reverend Dr. W. Tudor Jones in connection with the tomb of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy at Bristol :—

14, Clifton Park,
Bristol.
Jan. 23rd, 1928.

Dear Indian Friends,

I wish to make an appeal to you for help in connection with the Tomb of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who died in Bristol in 1833 and was buried here. A sum of money invested in the names of the Trustees of the Unitarian Church at Lewin's Mead, Bristol, would provide for the up-keep of the Tomb for the future. And, also, Lewin's Mead Chapel, where the Rajah worshipped, has been restored at a heavy cost of nearly £1,000. The Congregation has no wealthy members, and we appeal to you to help us to clear a debt of £500. This Place of Worship was very dear to the Rajah. It was through the instrumentality of the then Minister—Dr. Lant Carpenter—and of his great daughter, Miss Mary Carpenter, that the Rajah came to England. It is our intention to place a Tablet in this Place of Worship for the Rajah. Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen was also greatly attached to the Place and we should like to place a Tablet to his memory as well.

On the 27th of September of each year a service is held at the Rajah's Tomb, and Indian friends and pilgrims visit the Church.

Any contributions sent to me, as Minister of the Church, will be gratefully received, acknowledged, and used for the purposes which I have mentioned in this

letter. It is our strong wish to preserve for all times the Tomb and the Religious Building.

With thanks,

I remain,

Dear Friends,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) (Reverend Dr.) W. Tudor Jones.

The appeal speaks for itself. Indians of all provinces, races, creeds and castes should contribute their mite to enable Dr. Tudor Jones to keep the tomb of the Rajah in good repairs. The people of Bristol have done much hitherto to preserve it. It is time now for us to do our duty.

The editor of *The Modern Review* will be happy to receive, acknowledge, and remit all contributions to Dr. Tudor Jones.

—

Defeating Government in Legislative Bodies

As in previous years so in this, the Central and Provincial Governments have been defeated in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils a good many times, and yet the Central and Provincial Governments go on merrily, without even any change in their personnel brought about by such defeats. For this reason these official defeats and non-official victories may appear useless and meaningless, and the time and energy of the non-official members spent for inflicting the defeats may seem wasteful expenditure of those valuable things. But these victories are not futile. For one thing, they prove that our case is strong and our representatives are patriotic and capable men. In legislative bodies which are not entirely elective and in which the official influence is so strong, it is not an easy thing to inflict defeats on the Government.

India is not a new country. It is not like a clean state on which one can write anything that one wants. Some work of destruction has sometimes to be done in order that constructive work may commence. One would fain not do such work. But sometimes it has got to be done. As it is not and does not appear to be practicable to remove the British bureaucracy from the sphere of Indian administration and politics by some revolutionary change, what has to be done is to destroy the false belief in their superior

and special altruism, beneficence, capacity, efficiency and *bona fides*. It is not urged that this should be done by any means, fair or foul—by recourse to falsehood and unrighteousness, if need be. This can be done and should be done by strict adherence to truth and righteousness. Debates in the council chambers, resulting in inflicting defeats on the Government, serve the useful purpose pointed out above. It is not meant that all such defeats are brought about by the superiority of the case put forward by the non-official majority. Sometimes the officials have the worst of it in intriguing, it being then a case of 'diamond cut diamond.' The non-official victories which deserve praise are those which are due to superior principles, arguments, and debating capacity.

For constructive work the essential requirements are knowledge, practical idealism, character, devotion and unremitting toil.

—

Empire Parliamentary Association Delegates to Canada

At the annual meeting of the Empire Parliamentary Association, British India branch, four delegates were elected to attend the next meeting of the Association in Canada, the expenses of the delegates being borne by the Canadian Government. The following members have been elected delegates: Dewan Chaman Lal, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. T. C. Goswami, and Sir Darcy Lindsay. As the first three are Swarajist Congresswalas, who have accepted absolute independence as India's political goal, they have been subjected to banter and serious criticism for accepting positions in an Association which takes for granted India's place within the British Empire and for agreeing to travel at the expense of a member of the "British Commonwealth of Nations."

The Empire Parliamentary Association is not the only body in which India has a place without being fully entitled to it. All the members of the League of Nations, except India, are self-governing states; other states which are not self-ruling cannot become members. India, a subject country without self-rule, was given a place there by a fluke. The British Government wanted more votes than one, and that was one of the reasons why the signatories to the Peace Treaty at Versailles

were made original members of the League and an English official was made to sign it on behalf of India. Similarly only those countries of the British Empire which have real parliaments ought to be entitled to become members of the Empire Parliamentary Association. India's Central Legislature is a glorified debating club, a sort of camouflage to mislead the unwary into the belief that India has self-rule;—it is not a real parliament in any sense. Therefore, India's legislators are not in reality entitled to have anything to do with the Association. But there is no harm in availing ourselves of opportunities that come without our seeking them, which may enable us to establish contacts with foreign countries and serve India in various ways and acquire experience.

The acceptance of absolute independence as India's political goal does not mean that India has already become independent. If Swarajist Congresswalas are to be criticised for accepting positions in an Empire Association, they might also be criticised for remaining members of British Indian legislatures, for paying taxes to the British Government, and so on. We do not think they should be criticised for those reasons. If by becoming and remaining members of legislatures they sincerely feel they can indirectly promote the cause of independence, they are justified in doing so. As for accepting payment of their expenses from the Canadian Government, there can be no objection to it on any reasonable ground. They do not accept money on any conditions, nor do they thereby part with any of their rights or principles. All those of our legislators who are independentists are paid their travelling expenses to and from the seats of Government by the Central and Provincial Governments. If the acceptance of such payment is not wrong, it is also right to accept Canadian money.

Canada has not yet got the semblance of independence but it has got its substance. When it has advanced a little further, it would be able, if it liked, to fully assert its independence. If our delegates can interest the Canadian people in India's claim to a political status similar to that of Canada, it would not be a worthless performance. Let it not be supposed that in writing this, we are advocating a Dominion status for India as the goal of her political aspiration and thereby indirectly opposing her just and natural right and claim to absolute indepen-

dence. We are doing nothing of the kind. The exact means and methods to be used for attaining independence are not yet clear to us. But it may be said in general terms that independence may be won either by means of a revolution or *via* the Dominion status. It is not clear to us how a revolution may be brought about—particularly how it may be brought about without damaging some of India's vital interests and impairing her ultimate prospects of freedom. It may be admitted that it is possible, but what is possible may not be practicable under certain circumstances. As regards the way to independence *via* the Dominion status, though it may not be as dramatic and heroic as the revolutionary method, there is nothing dishonorable or disgraceful about it. Dominions like South Africa and Canada have not declared for independence in the abstract; but it is clear from their actions and the speeches of their statesmen that they will not brook any interference on the part of Great Britain and that they will secede the moment Britain stands in the way of their doing what they think fit in their own interests. What the comparatively small populations of these countries are doing may surely be aimed at by more than one-sixth of the population of the earth dwelling in India.

We are aware that there is at present a little disposition on the part of the British people to agree to India's having Dominion status as to her having independence. But when the same goal may be reached in different ways, there need not be any hesitation to use whatever honourable means may be found handy.

There is one point in the criticism levelled at the Swarajist delegates to the Empire Parliamentary Association which is worthy of attention. It is said that if they go to Canada they will not be able to attend the Simla Session of the Legislative Assembly. That will certainly be a disadvantage to the non-official groups, as they will have three votes the less. Moreover, the opposition will be deprived of the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Students and Politics

If young men of and above a certain age who are not students are thought fit to take part in politics, students of and above the same age may also be intellectually fit to do so. This general statement

carries with it the implication that schoolboys are not fit to take part in politics. For, nobody contends that a boy of, say, even 16 or 17 who is not a student is fit to take active part in politics. Of course, like other boys, even schoolboys may be spectators of political demonstrations and listeners to political speeches—though we would prefer their not hearing the harangues of demagogues.

What should be the attitude of college and university students to politics? Nobody says that young traders, merchants, mechanics, artisans, handicraftsmen, physicians, engineers, lawyers, labourers, etc., are unfit to have anything to do with politics merely because of their youth. A young man of 21 of any of the above classes may even be a legislator. So students of similar ages may not be intellectually unfit to take part in politics. The real objection to their dabbling in politics is of a different description. A young man of any of the above-named classes would not succeed in his profession if he were to devote more of his time and energy to politics than to the work which he professes to do. There may be many among them who have sufficient wealth to fall back upon even if they fail in their profession; so they can afford to neglect it. But the real point is that by such neglect they cease to be efficient and useful members of the class to which they nominally belong. It will be understood that we are not referring to elderly persons who have practically retired or can afford to retire from active pursuit of their callings.

As regards college and university students, if they devote more time to politics than to their studies, they must fail to achieve such success as they could otherwise have done. The very fact of a man being called and calling himself a student means that his main concern is study. If he feels called upon to devote himself entirely or mainly to politics, he is bound in honesty to cease to be a student and to call himself a student. The students owe something to their parents or other guardians also. The matter becomes comparatively simple if these guardians agree to their wards devoting most of their time and energy to politics while retaining the name and status of students. The question then would remain to be decided by the heads of educational institutions whether they would have students backward in their studies owing to excessive devotion to politics.

If the guardians of any students want

that they should make study their main concern, but if the same students want to make politics their chief occupation, the honourable course for such students to adopt would be to tell their guardians unreservedly how they spend and want to spend their time. If need be, these young men should also be self-supporting. The allowances given them by their guardians are meant to enable them to live and work as students. If without the consent of their guardians or contrary to their wishes, they want to be in the main politicians or agents of politicians, they should in honesty forego these allowances, and either maintain themselves by their own independent earnings or be maintained by the politicians whose behests they carry out.

We are aware of and have all along condemned the hypocrisy underlying the use of the words "atmosphere of pure study." In the modern world at any rate there cannot be any such atmosphere. Loyalism is also politics of a sort, and some text-books and celebrations are marked by such politics. Students, like other young men, will have to do with politics in their future careers, and therefore they ought to know politics. But their contact with politics should be mainly *as students*, as observers and learners, not mainly as active workers and participants. We cannot dogmatically say that students should leave all participation in political meetings and movements severely alone. Nor can we provide all sorts of students with a cut and dried time-table, definitely laying down how much time is to be devoted to studies, how much to recreations, how much to politics, how much to social and religious movements and social service, etc. As self-regulating beings, the students should be able to discipline themselves and to draw up their own time-tables, always remembering that so long as they retain the names and status of students, their main work is study.

Ought not they to fight freedom's battle? Of course, they should, when and if the call comes for their services. But they are to fight as young fighters for freedom, not as students. We are for thoroughgoing honesty, inner and outward. If you are above all fighters for freedom, be so by all means. But please do not pretend to be students par excellence at the same time. There should not be any make-believe of any sort.

We are aware of the truism that neither man's nature nor man's sphere of outward

activity is divided into water-tight or air-tight compartments and that one can play several roles. But the number of versatile supermen has been very small in the world's history. And so the general rule for the vast majority of mankind is that there should be one main occupation for each individual. For students that occupation is study. They can no more figure as successful politicians and successful students at the same time than many of the leaders of a political party in Bengal have successfully filled the roles of "National" educators and political agitators at the same time.

Rowdyism of Young Men

It gives us great pain to call attention to the rowdy conduct of some of our young men in connection with public functions and towards their teachers. If elderly persons do anything wrong, that also should certainly be condemned and remedied. But it is doing no good either to the young men concerned or to the nation at large to systematically omit all reference to their rowdyism, describe them as fighters for freedom, and give highly coloured accounts of the real or imaginary faults of their teachers and dwell exclusively on them.

Worst of all has been the exulting and laudatory description of the exploits of the young hopefuls in insulting and assaulting some Bengal M. L. C.s at the Calcutta Town Hall at the instigation of some fellow-councillors after the failure of the no-confidence motion against the Bengal Ministers. It is quite easy to behave as *Indian* gentlemen even towards political opponents.

Whatever else in occidental manners is worthy of imitation, Western political rowdyism is not. Cowards hire goondas or hooligans to insult and assault their opponents. Are our young men to degrade themselves to such a role? If any politician wants any opponent of his to be assaulted, he should have the courage to do the act of violence himself.

Annual Reunion of Greater India Society

The Greater India Society held its Annual Reunion (29th March, 1928) in the Lecture Hall of the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University. Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., presided; on the occasion. Sir Brojendra

Lall Mitter, the Advocate-General of Bengal, Dr. Subodh Chandra Mookerjee, Government Examiner of Accounts, Dr. B. L. Chaudhury, Mr. O. C. Ganguly, editor "Rupam," Mr. P. Chowdhury and several other men of light and leading in sympathy with the Society were present. The Vice-Chancellor, who is also the President of the Society, welcomed the guests and traced the progress of the work of the Society, which from an infant institution has gradually become an All-India movement, throwing new light on Indian history and popularising historical research by means of lantern lectures all over the country. Mr. Sarkar pointed out how Dr. Kalidas Nag, D. LITT. (Paris), the Honorary Secretary of the Society, was invited by four of our universities—those of Madras and Mysore, Andhra and Dacca, to deliver lectures on the "art and archaeology of Greater India," and he hoped that the history of Hindu cultural colonisation and of the undying contribution of India to world culture would form part of the syllabus of every University of India. He further remarked that the lectures delivered by brilliant scholars [like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, D. LITT. (London), Dr. P. C. Bagchi D. LITT. (Paris), Dr. B. R. Chatterjee, PH.D. (London), Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, PH.D. (Cantab), and others were creating a new historical outlook and were bringing the results of recondite research to the general public, not forgetting even the unlettered mass of men and women, who are everywhere hailing with great enthusiasm the illustrated lantern lectures of the Society. It is not only the learned societies of the city like the University, the Science Congress, the Sahitya Parishad, etc., that had welcomed the lectures, but from the remote mufassil also has come warm response, and the lecturers had to visit Howrah, Hooghly, Bogra, Pabna, Rajshahi, Rungpur, Dacca, Mymensing, Manickgunj, Barisal, and other places. "The permanent contribution of India to human history", continued the historian Vice-Chancellor, "was in the department of culture and art, of philosophy and peaceful progress; and here our society has drawn inspiration from its *Purodha*, the poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore."

On this occasion Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, delivered a very interesting lecture on the Paharpur excavations.

"The contribution of Paharpur to the cultural

history of Bengal in regard to religion, art and architecture is unique and unrivalled", said Mr. Dikshit, in the course of his lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the recent excavations and finds at Paharpur. The excavations at Paharpur, which were undertaken by the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey, have yielded a rich harvest of finds during the last three years including amongst others the discovery of a colossal temple of the Gupta period about 350 feet in length and 320 feet in breadth and 70 feet in height, embellished with sculptural and terra-cotta decorations on a scale not hitherto found in Eastern India. The outstanding characteristics of the most flourishing period of the Paharpur temple appear to be eclecticism and tolerance. All the known religious sects, such as the Vaishnavas and the Saivas, the Buddhists and the Jainas, were represented.

"The Paharpur mound," the lecturer explained, "was first brought to the notice of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton over 120 years ago as the highest existing ruin of antiquity in Eastern or probably in the whole of India. Subsequently it was seen and described by Westmacott and Cunningham about 50 years ago, the latter making an unsuccessful attempt to excavate it. After the formation of the Eastern Circle about 8 years ago, the site was one of the first to be acquired. In 1923 a part of the surrounding rampart walls was cleared under the direction of Prof. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University. But excavations were first begun in the central mound, which proved to be the main temple, in 1925 by Mr. R. D. Banerji, then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle. Mr. Banerji succeeded in clearing the northern portion of the gigantic temple including the staircase and a gate-house in the northern rampart wall. Since 1926 the work has been conducted under the superintendence of Mr. Dikshit and the entire temple with its terraced verandahs and pillared halls, bands of terra-cotta plaques, recessed niches with sculptures in the lower part of the basement were brought to light.

"The Paharpur temple", the lecturer observed, "supplied an architectural missing link between the earlier monuments of India and the later exuberance of Indo-colonial art as exemplified in Java, Cambodia and Burma. The art of Paharpur supplies the first indications of a prosperous school of sculpture in the golden age of the Guptas, besides exhibiting the well-known characteristics of broad intellectualism common with the other contemporary schools, the Bengal masters show their individuality in their peculiar refinement and emotionalism. The terra-cotta plaques, of which no fewer than three thousand specimens have so far come to light, represent probably the most well-defined provincial folk art in which Bengal continues to show her prominence to the present day. Almost the entire animal and vegetable world seemed to have been laid under contribution by the artists of Paharpur, who have succeeded in imparting to their handicraft the impressions of the world throbbing with action and life in which they were living. The wealth of material thus made available to the student of the early plastic art of Bengal is of incalculable value.

The stone images discovered *in situ* at Paharpur form probably the most valuable part of the discoveries. They prove for the first time the

existence in Bengal of a strong Vaishnava and Saiva tradition, and a flourishing school of sculpture in the Gupta period. Some of the earliest and most artistic representations of the exploits of the divine Krishna in his boyhood are to be found here, including the earliest known representation of Shri Krishna and Radha, incidentally proving that the popular Radha-Krishna cult of Bengal can be traced back in Bengal to over fourteen centuries. The images of other Hindu deities, such as Balarama, Indra, Yamuna, Siva, Yama, Agni, etc., are marvellously well executed and exhibit many features of interest to the student of art and iconography. A few stories from the Indian epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, as also popular folk-tales current among the people, have been rendered in stone and terra-cotta with characteristic force.

"The most important among the finds of the current year's excavation is a copper plate dated in the year 159 of the Gupta year (equivalent to 479 A. D.) recording the purchase and donation of land by a Brahmin and his wife for the maintenance of worship at the Vihara or religious establishment presided over by Nigrantha or Jaina abbots, which, there are reasons to assume, was no other than the Paharpur monument in its earlier and possibly less complex form. There must have been wholesale additions and reconstructions in the next few centuries and from the ninth century A. D. the Vihara seems to have been dedicated to Buddhism, and known after the well-known king Dharmapala of the Pala dynasty, who were devoted adherents of the Buddhist faith. The history of this wonderful monument, along with that of many similar places in Northern India, ceased with the Muhammadan conquest."

"Indianization" of the Indian Army

That the Indian army has remained so long de-Indianized is a sufficient condemnation of British rule in India. The attempt to Indianize it, if made in all sincerity, would only have removed some of the disgrace attaching to British rule on account of the long de-Indianization of the army; it could not have entitled the Government to positive praise. But the Government is determined not even to wipe away any stigma attaching to it. Even the partial Indianization of the army, recommended by the Skeen Committee unanimously, is not to be given effect to. And what was that committee like? It was, in the words of the Liberal weekly *The Week*, edited by Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias, a body of eminent Englishmen and Indians, presided over by the British Chief of Staff of the Indian Army.

"If such a Committee could formulate a unanimous report, proof is not needed that its terms would neither be precipitate nor of a nature to impair the efficiency of the Army. No General of the eminence of Sir Andrew Skeen would have

set his seal to it, we may be quite sure, unless the plan proposed was technically, i. e. militarily, sound. But such a report has now been treated as a mere scrap of paper, flouted and tossed into the Imperial waste-paper-basket. And why? Because the report honestly tried to lay the foundation to a really "Indian Army." Instead of which we now find that all the British will do is to open the Artillery, Engineers and Air-Corps to Indians; and that they will give them 20 vacancies *per annum* instead of the 10 promised at present. But already one is told that "suitable" candidates are not forthcoming even sufficient for the ten nominal vacancies; how then is the raising of their number to 20 going to help us? The main recommendation of the Skeen Committee of course was for the creation of an Indian Sandhurst, to make India self-supporting in the provision of officers; and that recommendation has been ruthlessly thrown out. There is to be no Indian Sandhurst and there is—particularly—to be no time-table, tying down the Government to a definite programme of progressive Indianization. At every step there is to be a "review of effects," a "watch and see," a *perhaps*, an *if*.

Worst of all, the policy of the "Eight Black Units" is to be revived, so as to make the rest of the army—the *Indian Army*!—quite snug for British Officers and preserving them from the calamity of having an Indian as superior officer. As Indian officers get promoted, they will be drafted into the Black Units—but even there, Sir W. Birdwood with unconscious irony adds, "it would be years before the last British officer was eliminated."

The Eight Units scheme was devised to see that no British officer had ever to serve under an Indian officer, and therefore, it is sacrosanct! Before the Sepoy War, it was not unusual for British soldiers to be led by Indian commandants. But partly on account of the racial arrogance fostered by British Imperialism and partly owing to distrust of Indians, there has been retrogression in the army in this respect.

Mr. Jinnah is reported to have said—and as he was a member of the sub-Committee of the Skeen Committee he ought to know—that the announcement made by the Commander-in-Chief in the Assembly with regard to the decisions of Government on the Skeen Committee's report is substantially the scheme placed before the Committee by the British War Office. So all the time and labour devoted by the Committee to taking evidence, deliberating, and drafting a report—not to speak of the large sums of money spent, were simply a huge waste and a fraud. The powers that be knew what they would do even before the Committee had set to work! What hypocrisy and camouflage!

Further,

Mr. Jinnah asked the Commander-in Chief why the report of the Sub-Committee of the Skeen

Committee was still suppressed. If it was not to be published, was the appreciation of the Sub-Committee's labour genuine or only formal. "May I know the object of suppressing the report and the proceedings of the Sub-Committee." He thought Pandit Motilal was wise in leaving the Committee (Cheers). He (the Pandit) realized it was not worth while wasting time, energy, and brain. The speaker did not follow that line but continued in order to produce a fair and reasonable scheme for the purpose of accelerating Indianisation. They spent 13 to 14 months and their report was unanimous. Continuing Mr. Jinnah said: "The Government has fundamentally turned down that Report and I must emphatically protest against to-day's announcement. It is a travesty of the unanimous recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee." (Hear, hear).

Mr. Jinnah observed that Indians wanted a National Army.

The Commander-in-Chief has told us that the 8 Unit Scheme must remain in operation. Every British Officer and Indian Officer who gave evidence was opposed to the scheme and yet it is not given effect to. Why? I tell the House the only reason is, and the Commander-in-Chief has put it in a diplomatic language, that it will be taking a risk—the risk that the British recruitment may fail. Why? Because it is only by means of the 8 unit scheme that an Indian will never be a superior officer to the British Officer. (Hear, hear, Shame).

Mr. Jinnah added: "You say, we will increase your number to 25 at Sandhurst and 6 each at Woolwich and Cranwell. That is not what we are aiming at. The Commander-in-Chief knows perfectly well that we wanted to lay the foundation of a Military College in India that will establish our own traditions and a system of our own and the sooner that is done the better, and you want the later it is done the better. That is the real issue. Sir Victor Sassoon says the military expense is an insurance premium for safety. Have I got the choice to change the insurance office or say I can get as much safety by paying less premium" (Applause).

That India can get as much safety by paying less premium, that is, that India can be as well defended at a less cost by Indianization of the army is clear from some calculations of Dr. Moonje, which are, that "in the cavalry 15,000 Indians cost Rs. 8 lakhs and 4,000 British Rs. 15 lakhs. whilst in the infantry the figures are respectively 90,000 Indians costing Rs. 6 lakhs, and 45,000 British Rs. 16 lakhs."

In conclusion Mr. Jinnah said:—

Here is a machine the whole basis of which is this garrison in the country. (Hear, hear). I do not want the garrison of his Majesty's forces to ensure me. I want a national army (Applause). The whole principle is bad from start to finish. So long as you maintain this vicious principle, so long as this machine continues with the present organisation, you cannot reduce very much of its expenditure. What is the good of the Com-

Commander-in-Chief telling us yarns that one heard from grandmother. Oh! Army is a better nation-building department than any other. See what we do in the education of our soldiers who are better fed and clothed than in their villages. We run factories. We are pioneers of every national movement in this country. (Laughter). Sir, I can tell his Excellency these yarns won't do (Renewed laughter). I do not deny the Commander-in-Chief is doing his best. If you were to put me there I would say the same thing because I have got to run that machine. Why tell us these little yarns as if these are the issue. Our fundamental position is this. We want to turn this garrison into a national army. You can help us or hinder. I am convinced that the British Government does not wish to help us. I had my faith in serving on the Sandhurst Committee and let me tell the Commander-in-Chief that by turning down this report and by his announcement he has completely shattered my faith in the bona fides of the Government. (Loud and prolonged applause).

Pandit Motilal Nehru also was as outspoken in his condemnation of the Commander-in-Chief's announcement as Mr. Jinnah.

Pandit Motilal Nehru declared that the Commander-in-Chief's speech had left him cold. It was to his mind in perfect keeping with the policy to which they owed the Statutory Commission. The Commander-in-Chief's announcement was a further step in the direction of the working of that policy; for, the real thing they wanted, namely, an Indian Sandhurst, was not to be established. He had found no reason to enthuse over the recommendations of the Sken Committee of which he had at one time been a member. Indeed, when the recommendations were published he felt a sense of relief that he was not a party to them.

Mr. Jinnah: How do you feel now?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I feel the same now; for even if as recommended by the Committee an Indian Sandhurst was established, it would have taken several years before there would have been a sufficient number of trained Indians for the army. But the insatiable greed of Britain which was responsible for keeping India in its grip would not contemplate even that contingency of one day India standing on her own feet. I hate the word 'Indianisation' from the bottom of my heart. We are in India and there is no question about Indianisation. What India wants first is to get rid of Europeanisation of the Army. But there was to be no Indian Sandhurst and even the ten cadets required for the real Sandhurst were not, in the Government's opinion, available in India, and it must take a long time before an Indian Sandhurst could be established. It was a calumny on the manhood of India to say that there was a dearth of cadets. Even in the short time he was a member of the Sken Committee he found there were thousands of candidates available but there was no inclination on the part of the Government to get at them and that Government founded qualification not on ability but in parentage.

INDIAN CADETS TURNED OUT

But one of the grounds on which several Indian cadets were turned out of Sandhurst

was that they could not follow the lectures given in English. There were thousands of students in India capable of following English lectures who were anxious to enter the Army but the Government would not select them because they were not great grandsons of some villagers who some years ago were connected with the Army. However sugarcoated the announcement of the Commander-in-Chief might be, however tempting the offers of admission to Woolwich and Cranwell and Sandhurst might be, the fact remained that no substantive advance had been given towards a national army in the sense that it was to be officered by Indians. It was sheer hypocrisy to say that it was not possible to establish a Military College without increasing the military budget.

Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Japan—all with far smaller populations than India—can officer their armies with their own men; but India is falsely assumed to be incapable of supplying men fit to be officers. If the Government were sincere, it could have got the requisite number of graduate cadets even from the races, tribes, sects and castes admitted by it to be warlike, namely, the Jats, Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas, etc., not to speak of the entire Indian population.

Imperial Penny Post

The Statesman supports the revived proposal for an Imperial penny postage, even though it would involve an annual loss of six million pounds sterling, on the ground that it would benefit large numbers of citizens. It writes:

With reference to the proposed return to an Imperial penny post, the Secretary to the Post Office pulls a long face at the estimated cost, which he puts at six millions sterling, even after allowing for an increase in traffic. If that is the only argument against the reform, all that can be said is that officialdom strains at gnats and swallows camels. For an expenditure of six millions an untold boon would be conferred upon many millions of British citizens. The wide flung Empire would be brought closer together and poor people to whom every penny is a consideration would be encouraged to keep in closer touch with their friends and relatives. It does not bfit an administration which has added nearly 40 millions to the Budget in the last four years to raise pious hands at the proposal to spend another six millions for a purpose which appeals to everybody.

All these arguments apply to reduction of postage in India, *mutatis mutandis*. According to the present ratio of exchange, a penny is worth less than an anna, which is what the Indian Post Office charges here for carrying a letter of minimum weight. The Imperial Penny Postage scheme means that a letter with a penny stamp attached to

it, posted at the farthest extremity of the British Isles, would reach a man living in the remotest corner of Ladakh, the Shan States, Australia, the Fiji Islands, etc. But a letter carried from anywhere in India to anywhere else in India, i.e., over a much shorter distance than the British letter, must cost for its carrying one anna, which is more than a penny. If for the advantage of numerous British citizens, whose average income is much greater than that of Indians, a loss of several million pounds is worth incurring, why should not a smaller loss be worth incurring by the Government of India for the advantage of a larger number of persons?

The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department combined worked at a profit of Rs. 21,62,542 during the year 1926-27, in spite of the fact that the Telegraph Department, taken by itself, caused a net loss of Rs. 12,72,332. So it is quite probable that, if postage were reduced, the resulting increase in the number of post-cards and letters used would prevent serious loss to the Postal Department alone. In the mass the Telegraphs serve the more well-to-do section of the people using the combined Posts and Telegraphs Department. The higher postage rates at present charged ought not to be kept up mainly in the interests of this richer telegraph-using section.

Postage rates are cheaper in Japan and the United States than in India. The postal department ought here to be treated as a development department as in many other countries.

It is to be regretted that this year, too, motions for the reduction of postage were lost in the Assembly. It is said that they could have been carried if all the members who helped to pass the no confidence in the Simon Commission motion had been in their places and voted aright when the postal resolutions were moved. If so, the absent members were guilty of neglect of duty.

Mr. Sarda's Child Marriage Bill

The Select Committee's report on Mr. Har Bilas Sarda's Bill against child marriage has been signed subject to minutes of dissent by five members.

The Committee has decided that the Bill should effect its purpose of restraining child marriages not

by declaring such marriages to be invalid but by imposing punishments upon those who participate in them. It has also been proposed that the amended Bill should be general in its scope and apply to all classes and communities in British India. The minimum marriageable age for boys has been settled at eighteen years and for girls at fourteen. These decisions are embodied in sub-clause 2 of the amended Bill.

The next important principle determined is the interpretation of the phrase 'participants in a child marriage.' It has been decided that the following classes should come within the penal provisions of the Bill namely: (A) male adults who marry young girls, (B) persons, who perform any essential ceremony of a child marriage, and (C) parents and guardians, who promote or permit a child marriage. The committee has decided that where a boy between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one marries a child he shall be liable to fine and that where a man above twenty-one marries a child he shall incur the full penalty prescribed for offences under the Act. In clause 3 it has provided for a fine of Rs. 1,000 for offenders above the age of eighteen years and under twenty-one and in clause 7 it has been provided that imprisonment shall not be imposed on these offenders under any circumstances. Clause 4 relates to offenders above the age of twenty-one years.

The next point decided was the extent of punishment to be provided generally for offences under the Act and this has been fixed at simple imprisonment up to one month, a fine up to one thousand rupees or both these. The punishments appear in clauses 4, 5 and 6 of the amended Bill.

Certain provisions have been made to avoid the risk of frivolous prosecution and harassment. It has been provided in clause 8 that only Courts of Presidency Magistrates and district Magistrates shall have jurisdiction in cases concerning child marriages. In clause 9 it has been provided that cognisance can be taken only upon complaint made within one year of the solemnisation of the marriage. In clause 10 it has been laid down that the Court, unless it dismisses the complaint, shall in all cases make a preliminary inquiry under Section 292 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. In clause 11 a provision has been added requiring the complainant to give security for payment of any compensation that may be awarded against him under Section 250 of the same Code. It has been also provided that the Act shall not come into force until the 1st day of April, 1930, by which it is expected the provisions of the Bill will be widely known among all classes and communities. The Government has been asked to take exceptional measures in publishing the act as finally passed.

We are on the whole in favour of the Bill as re-cast by the Select Committee. If passed into law, it will not materially affect the marriageable age prevalent among the educated classes. But as the illiterate and uneducated masses form the vast majority of the people of India, strenuous and ceaseless educative work must be carried on among them.

The physical, moral and intellectual edu-

cation of girls must also be undertaken on a vastly wider scale both by the people and the Government.

So far as Bengal is concerned, those who are or are called political leaders and their followers must pay greater attention than they do at present to the prevention of outrages on girls and women. For, higher marriageable age for girls would mean the keeping unmarried of large numbers of girls of a maturer age than at present. The risk to Hindu girls would be greater than Muslim girls, because purdah is stricter among Muslims and because statistics show that Hindu girls are victimised in larger numbers by Muslim and Hindu ruffians than Muslim girls are by Hindu and Muslim ruffians. In writing this we do not indirectly suggest that purdah should be made stricter among Hindus. What we suggest is that Hindus, young and old, should be more courageous, willing and able to protect girls and women than they are, and girls and women should also be taught the arts of self-defence.

In the course of his statement to the Press Mr. Sarda says:

"The Muslim opinion is dead against lowering the minimum marriageable age of girls below 14, and there is hardly any reason why the Hindus, whose interest in the well being of their own community is as strong as that of the Muslims in theirs, should want the age to be fixed below 14."

"It is apprehended that those who are opposed to all social reforms or to legislation in any form in the matter of social reforms will start an agitation against the Bill, and it is therefore necessary that all Indians who have the good of India at heart should begin work in right earnest in this matter of the most vital importance and to the well-being of the nation, to educate public opinion and to focus it on the provisions of the Bill.

"I particularly appeal to the women of India to be up and working and to leave no stone unturned to see that the Bill becomes a measure of adequate marriage reform and to show that, as it primarily affects their well-being and their future happiness, they are fully conscious of their responsibilities in the matter and their power to shape their future destinies."

Madras Council Against Child Marriage

An Associated Press message, dated Madras, March 27, states:—

Strong condemnation of child marriage found expression in the Madras Council this afternoon when Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal moved a resolution emphasising the necessity for legislation in connection with raising of marriageable age of boys and girls to twenty-one and sixteen respectively. Speakers deplored the practice of early marriage

and urged British India to follow the lead of Indian states.

The motion was carried without division.

Satyendra Prasanna Sinha

I saw Satyendra Prasanna Sinha for the first time when he returned to India after being called to the Bar. His cousin, the late Hemendranath Sinha, was then residing in Calcutta as a college student in an old house in Mir Jafar's Lane (now College Row), Calcutta, with a few friends, myself being one of them. On landing in Calcutta, he spent a day or two with us in that house.

I always respected him, because he was a gentleman and a man of character. Our views in social and religious matters were similar; in politics we somewhat differed. But I never had any doubts regarding his sincere love of the Motherland and his desire that she should be free in the fullest sense of the word. *The People of Lahore* is quite right in stating that he was not of the breed of flatterers: his advancement in life was due to his merits, and also, of course, to the rising tide of national self-assertion in the country. He never mistook rudeness for spirit of independence; nor did he ever suffer from a swelled head.

The Indian Social Reformer writes:—

In his own quiet way, he worked to advance the national cause in every direction. He took a keen interest in the progress of the social movement in particular and regretted that it could not proceed faster. In a letter written just two months ago, Lord Sinha expressed his pleasure at the success of the last National Social Conference, adding: "I wish the pace could be greatly accelerated; but take comfort when I remember the wise dictum of Lord Bacon that 'if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater'; and only those who are actual workers in the social field can realise the enormous difficulties in their way. Patience must be our watchword." The difficulties are not so great as they seemed to Lord Sinha, and they have steadily diminished. The prospect of social reform was never brighter than it is to-day. To a considerable extent, this is the direct consequence of the awakened political conscience of the country, which enables it to see the details of social life in their proper perspective, and Lord Sinha's part in the great awakening is second to that of none.

His innate modesty and gentlemanliness prevented him from practising the art of self-advertisement. These traits are found

exemplified in the following extract from *The Indian Social Reformer* :

Lord Sinha's Charities: We reprint elsewhere a letter written by Mr. N. N. Sircar in which he points out, in repudiation of Miss Katherine Mayo's calumny, the social benefactions of Lord Sinha to his native village of Raipur. We had not noticed this in our reading of Miss Mayo's book, until Lord Sinha himself called attention to it. Friends in England have been pressing for an English edition of thereprint of our articles in reply to Miss Mayo's book, and one of them suggested that Lord Sinha should be requested to write an introduction. In asking to be excused, Lord Sinha wrote: "I doubt if it would be of much use for me to write a foreword for the proposed English edition of your articles in reply to Miss Mayo's 'Mother India'. Personal recour may be attributed to me, as she devoted half a chapter to vilifying me—anonymously but sufficiently clearly to indicate whom she meant. I trust you will excuse me if I keep clear of the controversy, which is also getting stale now." Mr. Sircar says that Lord Sinha refused to have his benefactions advertised in order to rebut Miss Mayo's calumny.

That notorious woman's calumny is to be found in the following passage of her book *Mother India*, pp. 195-196, British edition:—

It was one of the most eminent of living Indians who gave me this elucidation of the attitude of a respected Hindu nobleman toward his own 'home town.'

'Disease, dirt and ignorance are the characteristics of my country,' he said in his perfect English, sitting in his city-house library where his long rows of law-books stand marshalled along the walls. 'Take my own village, where for centuries the head of my family has been chief. When I who am now head, left it seventeen years ago, it contained some 1800 inhabitants. When I revisited it...I found that the population had dwindled to fewer than 600 persons. I was horrified...'

"My question, therefore, is plain: *What have the British been doing in the last hundred years that my village should be like this?*" The British say, "We had to establish peace and order before we could take other matters up"; also, "this is a vast country, we have to build bridges and roads and irrigation canals." But surely, surely, they could have done more, and faster. And they let my people starve!'

After quoting these words of Lord Sinha's without mentioning his name, the authoress says that "he, the one great man of his village, had left that village without help, advice, leadership", etc. Lord Sinha *did* help his village. He spent money for its educational, sanitary and agricultural improvement, and has left endowments for the continuance of such work.

Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth

Gujarat in particular and all India have lost a great citizen in Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth. Of him the *Subodha Patrika* writes:—

His death removes from our midst one of the most distinguished lawyers of the Ahmedabad bar, one of the warmest advocates of social reform and the leader of the Prarthana Samaj movement in Gujarat. We cannot, in this short article, speak of the innumerable services that Sir Ramanbhai rendered as the President of the Ahmedabad Municipality and a Member of the first Bombay Legislative Council: we are more concerned with what he did to further the cause of religious and social reform in Gujarat. Having inherited from his wellknown father Rao Saheb Mahipatram Rupram his passion for bringing about a total change in the religious and social outlook of the people of Gujarat, Sir Ramanbhai decided to devote himself heart and soul to the cause of the Prarthana Samaj movement.

Sir Ramanbhai was a man of great abilities and remarkable gifts and it was not surprising that he should have been engaged in so many public activities and connected with so many organisations, but we doubt if there was ever any work which was dearer to his heart than the work of the Prarthana Samaj. Without intending in the least to condone the unfortunate mistakes that he may or may not have committed, let it be said in fairness to this man who has not always been understood and appreciated in the way he deserved, that the reforms that he actually brought about in practice were so immense for his time and circumstances that we would not hesitate to class him, for that and that alone, among the greatest reformers that Gujarat has produced.

Strictly from a point of view of social reform he went far ahead of his contemporaries. His wife, Lady Vidya Gouri, is the first Gujarati lady graduate, three of his daughters are also graduates and the remaining two will graduate in a year or so. His is one of the most cultured families in Gujarat. If Sir Ramanbhai had done no other work, his own family would sufficiently indicate the largeness of the spirit of the man who has now gone to take his well earned rest.

K. Ranga Rao

The late Mr. K. Ranga Rao of Mangalore was a great friend of "the depressed classes" and worked for the amelioration of their condition for years till the day of his death. We intend to publish an article on his life and work in a future issue.

Mr. Natarajan on City College Affairs

The paragraph on "The City College and Hindu Festivals" published in *The Indian*

Social Reformer does not do justice to Mr. K. Natarajan's reputation as a journalist and a thinker. Probably he has not had time to obtain full and accurate knowledge of all the facts. So many falsehoods relating to the subject have been and are still being circulated that it is not practicable to overtake and expose them in a monthly magazine.

The principal, Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, has been characterised as "a rather strait-laced Brahmo Samajist." It is unnecessary for us to defend him against this gratuitous personal attack, made in such perfect good taste. What has to be pointed out, in order to show that it is gratuitous, is that whatever Mr. Maitra has done has not been done in his individual capacity. Like other colleges in Bengal, City College has a governing body or council, consisting of Brahmo and Hindu members, which arrives at decisions, and the Principal gives effect to them. Perhaps, of course, it is the governing body or council which is "strait-laced," not Mr. Maitra, or not Mr. Maitra alone.

Mr. Natarajan writes :—

The idea of taking advantage of the necessity of Hindu students to join the City College for secular education, to force on them the creed of the Brahmo Samaj, is not fair either to the students or the Samaj. We are sure that Raja Ram Mohun Roy would not have approved of it. From prohibiting the puja in the Hostel, it is but one step to prohibiting it in the homes of the boys.

There never was, nor is there now, the faintest idea of taking advantage of the necessity of Hindu students to join the City College. Calcutta, not to speak of many mofussil towns of Bengal, contains many Colleges, as cheap as City College, which can accommodate all the students of that college in addition to their own. Therefore, there is strictly speaking no necessity for any Hindu student to join City College. Those who join it and its Ram Mohun Roy Hostel do so knowing full well what the rules are. There has never been any attempt to force the creed of the Brahmo Samaj on any student or anybody else. The boarders of the Ram Mohun Roy hostel have all along been allowed perfect liberty of individual worship there according to their beliefs. Moreover, they have all along been allowed to celebrate the Sarasvati Puja festival outside the hostel, and they have done so this year, too. Under the circumstances, if any group of Brahmos do not allow any religious

festival of which image-worship is a part to be celebrated in any house and grounds under their charge and control, such action, in our opinion, does not deserve to be characterized in the way Mr. Natarajan has done. The Ram Mohun Roy Hostel is not a church, it is true ; but it is not a Hindu temple either. It is a hostel meant for students of all religions not merely for Hindu students. Hindu students certainly have the right of freedom of worship. But, we presume, the Brahmo Samajists also have the right to determine what shall or shall not be done in houses and grounds under their charge and control.

We understand that at present almost all the boarders of the Ram Mohun Roy Hostel are Hindus. But it is not an exclusively Hindu hostel. Students of City College of any other denomination are entitled to reside in it, if they want to and if there be room. The college authorities cannot shut them out. Under the circumstances, the authorities, we think, have been well-advised in laying down the rule that if students of any particular sect want to celebrate a festival, they should do it outside the hostel precincts. At the same time, orthodox students of any particular denomination, provided they are sufficient in number, may have a separate "mess" for themselves in a separate house and celebrate their religious festivals there. There is no objection to that. If a hostel, like the City College hostel in question, were open to students of all religions, and if they all wanted to celebrate their particular religious festivals there, it might thereby be certainly converted into a Religious Liberty Hall of Festivals of All Religions, but it is certain that that would not promote intercommunal peace and goodwill and "nation-building," as in such a Hall sacrifices of certain kinds of quadrupeds might lead to unintended human sacrifices also.

Mr. Natarajan is sure that Raja Ram Mohun Roy would not have approved of the rule relating to festivals laid down for the hostel named after him. But our perusal of the Raja's life and Bengali as well as English works has not made us so cocksure as the editor of "the Indian Social Reformer." We think he would have approved of it.

"From prohibiting the Puja in the Hostel, it is but one step to prohibiting it in the homes of the boys." Hypothetically it may be so. But the fact is and has been otherwise. Far from making such an absurd

attempt as prohibiting the Puja in the homes of their students, the City College authorities have all along allowed the boarders to celebrate the Pujah anywhere outside the Hostel, and they have done so.

We do not wish to write more on the subject. The authorities of the City College and the leaders of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, with neither of which the present writer has any connection, ought to have furnished the editors of the principal Indian newspapers with a full account of the facts, in the absence of which the lies and half-truths published in the newspapers are being accepted as the undiluted truth, and students guilty of gross breach of discipline, rowdism and of such highly refined acts as insulting and molesting their principal, hustling and abusing one of their professors, switching off the lights in his quarters, trying to force open the door of the apartments where he was residing with his family, pouring curds on the head of a fellow-student and garlanding another with old shoes for their offence of attending college, etc.,—are being enlogised as martyrs to religious freedom by some demagogues and some professors of rival colleges.

A Noble Gift

Sir Annamalai Chetty has offered the sum of twenty lakhs of rupees along with properties attached to the Sri Minakshi College at Chidambaram for the formation of a University there. It is a great gift, which will immortalise the donor's name and benefit countless generations of young people.

"Whose is the Associated Press"

The People asks in its issue of the 22nd March last, "Whose is the Associated Press?" and publishes some test facts. It shows that the A. P. I. version of the Lahore demonstration on the arrival of the Simon Commission is the same as that which appeared in the Anglo-Indian daily the "Civil and Military Gazette." It goes on to ask Mr. K. C. Roy some very inconvenient questions in this connection.

The Simon Commission in the Panjab

It is clear from the pages of *The Tribune*, *The People* and *The Hindu Herald*, that the people of the Panjab gave the same sort of welcome to the Simon Commission which it generally received elsewhere. "The welcomes were all got-up tomfoolery." In many places, the boycotters were interfered with and roughly handled by the local police and officials.

The Servants of the People Society

The Servants of the People Society of Lahore has just celebrated its 7th anniversary. Its report for the year 1927-28 shows that it has done good work for the people in various directions, social, political, economic and educational in the Panjab, U. P., Orissa and Kathiawar. During the anniversary celebrations Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya laid the foundation stone of the Hall which the Society requires in Lahore, naming it very appropriately after Lala Lajpat Rai, the founder and director of the Society. Lalaji announced the establishment of a trust of the initial value of Rs. 1,10,000 for erecting a consumptives' hospital for women. It is needless to praise him for his charities.

The Holkar-Miller Marriage

So much fuss has been made over the "conversion" of Miss Nancy Miller and her marriage with the legally and illegally polygamous Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar, because of the rank and wealth of the latter. For, bigamous and polygamous "marriages" of Indian Hindu princes and plebeians with women of European extraction have taken place before; what are better and morally unobjectionable, *viz.*, monogamous marriages of Indian Hindus with women of European extraction, have also taken place ere this. Such women have also previously undergone *shuddhi* to contract monogamous marriage with Indian Hindus. There was, therefore, nothing new in the Holkar-Miller affair except the rank and wealth and unbridled animality of the man concerned. Hinduism allows the taking of a new wife during the life time of previous wives if

they have not borne a son. The Holkar cannot plead even this excuse.

His *Holiness* the Sankaracharya of Karavirpith has made a grandiloquent speech, in effect characterising the *shuddhi* of Miss Miller as a sort of epoch-making affair. Epoch-making it is in a sense of which neither His *Holiness* nor his Hindu supporters ought to be proud. It is not epoch-making in the matter of acceptance of Hinduism by non-Hindu European gentlemen and ladies. For such acceptance had already become a thing of past history before ever Sir Tukoji Rao saw Miss Miller. The acceptance of Hinduism by occidental ladies from entirely non-worldly motives is also well-known. Take the case of Sister Nivedita of hallowed memory. If the word epoch-making is to be used in connection with the acceptance of Hinduism by occidental ladies, it should be reserved for cases like hers.

We have all along been in favour of every religious community having and exercising the right to convert persons of a different faith by all legitimate means. But we are against glorifying "conversions" whose plain object is worldly; and when that object is polygamy, it deserves condemnation. It is true, Sir Tukoji Rao is not the only polygamous prince. But a vicious practice cannot become a commendable virtue because of its commonness among princes, nor can it be commended because one offender is a man of rank and wealth and the other offender is a woman with a pale pink skin. The following Free Press message appears in *The Leader* :—

LONDON, March 19.

The news of Miss Miller's conversion has created a great sensation in England. Numerous letters reached the office of the *Indian*, inquiring whether such conversion could be made outside India and whether the Hindu Mission could find it possible to go to Europe for the purpose of accepting recruits to the Hindu faith.

One of the letters appeals to the new Maharani Sharmistha Bai Holkar to initiate a new movement to start a Hindu mission in Europe and America for spreading Hinduism.

There is nothing to show that British men and women have suddenly awakened to the high spiritual teachings of the *Upanishads*. There are hundreds of thousands of surplus unmarried women in England, many of whom would not dislike marrying Indian princes and other wealthy Indian men as a career. Should they choose such a career

and the candidates be a little too many, Hindu girls in India, whose marriage is none too easy an affair, may find it a still more difficult thing! For they cannot flirt and woo, which Western women can.

A correspondent of *The Leader*, writing from Indore on the 19th March, says:

"His Highness is reported to have expressed his keen desire to devote his future life to the cause of educational and social uplift of the country."

May the God Kandarpa save India from such uplifters! Of course, Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar may not be the worst among his brethren. But neither is he among the best, or even among the merely passable ones.

An Associated Press message, dated Barwaha, March 19, states:—

Their Highnesses Maharaja Sir Tukoji Rao and Maharani Sharmistha Devi have been the recipients of numerous congratulatory messages from brother Princes, including the Maharaja of Kapurthala and friends from England, America and Paris. Several leaders of religious thought such as Mahamahopadhyayas from Calcutta, Benares and other centres of learning, have sent messages offering their benedictions to their Highnesses.

Probably these "brother Princes" sent congratulatory messages to the older Maharanis of Holkar also on their acquisition of a new co-wife. At least the "sister Princesses" must have done so. These congratulatory messages also deserve to be published. And the benedictions showered on the occasion on the older Maharanis by the "several leaders of religious thought" should be preserved in a museum and exhibited as proofs of their deep and high religiosity.

The whole thing is nauseating to a degree.

Colour Bar Act Applied to Natal

Bombay, March 23.

News has been received by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that the Colour Bar Act has been made applicable to Natal enabling the Government to declare what skilled occupations are to be reserved for white and coloured persons only, to the exclusion of the African natives and the Indian population. This, it is said, creates a very serious situation, since the bulk of the Indian population is confined to Natal and many of them being Colonial born Indians, are dependent on skilled and semi-skilled employment. The Natal Indian Congress has, therefore, entered its vigorous protest and it is believed they have also telegraphed to the Government of India.

This creates a very serious situation.

The Government of India should take prompt and vigorous action in the matter.

Firing at Railway Strikers at Bamungachi

We read the *Statesman* to discover why the Railway strikers were shot at at Bamungachi, killing some of them. We could not find out how and why the crowd which was peaceful throughout came to be considered a murderous mob requiring shooting when they wanted to cross the Bamungachi Bridge. We are not satisfied that the shooting was necessary and justified.

It is a well-known fact that shooting is resorted to more often and on less serious occasions than in England. Our lives are cheap here.

Paid Vice-Chancellor for Calcutta

The Bengal Legislative Council has done well to reject the demand for a salary for the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. None of our previous Vice-Chancellors, nor the present one ever asked to be paid for their labours. Had the salary been voted, it would have been used, though unjustly, to vilify Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Simon Commission Committee for Bengal

The Bengal Government has used its discretion aright in not moving for the appointment of a Committee of the Bengal Council to co-operate in a subordinate capacity with the Simon Commission. It will, no doubt, go on manoeuvring to secure a majority in order to bring forward the motion at the proper time.

Egyptian Independence

In British dictionaries independence still continues to mean independence;—there are no different grades or varieties of independence. But if British Imperialists succeed in having their own way, at no distant date British lexicographers would have to define the varieties of independence known as Egyptian, Iraqi, etc. But the Egyptians

themselves want the thing called independence without any qualifying adjective. Their new Prime Minister, Nahas Pasha, wants to safeguard his country's rights in the Sudan. He will not agree to any condition conflicting with its complete independence. At the same time, like every other civilised independent country, Egypt, he says, is willing and ready to safeguard the interests of foreigners residing there.

Dominion Status and Independence

So far as the British Empire is concerned the line of demarcation between dominionhood and independence is bound to become gradually fainter and fainter. Canada has independently appointed some ambassadors abroad and concluded treaties also independently. Ireland has followed suit. The Irish Free State has got its treaty with Great Britain registered at the office of the League of Nations. Some of the Dominions have got their mandated territories. As a result of the last Imperial Conference it was understood that if Britain entered upon any war without the previous consent of any Dominion that Dominion had the right not to help the "mother" country but to remain neutral. In a recent pronouncement General Hertzog has made a declaration in favour of such a right. The exercise of such a right will make for peace to some extent. There is another right of independent states, namely, the right to declare war. No Dominion has yet claimed this right even in theory.

Aligarh University Enquiry

The report of the Aligarh University Committee of Enquiry is said to have revealed a very sad picture of the affairs at that institution. It is said that in consequence Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, its pro-vice-chancellor, has been asked to take leave preparatory to retirement. It is also said that the heads of all its departments are henceforth to be Europeans. That would mean that there were no cultured, able and honest Musalmans to be had even for the high salaries to be paid to the Europeans. Such Europeanization would be a sad and damaging commentary on the claim of the Muslim community to share all powers and privileges with the

Hindus. For, in none of the other officially recognised universities, where the talent of all Indian communities has scope, has there been any debacle like that at Aligarh.

We dare not, of course, seriously suggest that if Muslim talent, ability and integrity be not available, Indian non-Muslim talent may be given a chance. For most Indian Muslims there are only two alternatives—Muslim management or European management. The tacit admission of European superiority would be bearable; but the implied admission of non-Muslim Indian superiority must be unthinkable.

Long ago, as an example of Aligarh methods, we stated, without any subsequent contradiction on anybody's part, that though at a certain examination all the candidates had failed in mathematics, when the results were published they were all found to have passed in mathematics as well as in other subjects! One can befool the public for a time, but one cannot befool Nemesis for all time.

India's Payment for the British Army

A Renter's telegram, dated March 27, states that India's capitation payment for "Home" effective service is £1,400,000 and contribution for non-effective services £1,110,000—total £2,510,000.

Co-education in Bengal Schools

A correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* draws attention to the fact that in his presidential address delivered at the conference of college teachers recently held at Barisal Principal G. C. Bose spoke of co-education in the following terms:—

"I know there is a good deal of prejudice against co-education in the country, but I am confident with the growth of modern ideas all such prejudice will be overcome. There is no more

healthy corrective against the 'sex-obsession' than intellectual comradeship and participation in the innocent delights of common pursuits and social pleasures and for this no other agency could be devised than co-education in higher stages."

The correspondent adds:—

In the last Howrah District Teachers' Conference also a resolution was moved by Babu Mohit Kumar Banerjee, Head Master, Bally Banga Sishu Vidyalaya, recommending that 'co-education be introduced in M. E. and H. E. Schools where local conditions will permit,' and it was passed by an overwhelming majority. This if given effect to by the Education Deptt. will no doubt be an advance movement in the field of education. I know of two schools where co-education prevails satisfactorily and successfully too, but the Education Deptt. (I mean the Inspectors of Schools) have been constantly discrediting them and bitterly opposing the system. When the countrymen want such a thing, will the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, issue a circular so that co-education may be permitted to be introduced in schools or colleges that demand it?

Co-education should certainly be permitted where the people want it, if for no other reason than this, that the number of girls' schools—particularly high schools—is very small in Bengal, and the Bengal Government has been so ruthlessly and deliberately robbed of its resources by the wicked Meston Award that there is no likelihood of the Bengal Education Department opening or aiding girls' schools in sufficient numbers in the immediate future.

The Boycott of British Cloth

British and other foreign cloth should certainly be boycotted. But the boycott can be effective, only if the manufacturers and suppliers of khaddar and Indian mill yarns and cloth will increase their out-turn, be honest, and restrain their desire for gain within due limits.

During the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, some Bombay mill-owners not only charged unconscionable prices for their goods but passed off Japanese cloth as made in India.